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Dissident Petur Manolov Continues Hunger Strike

PM1402113889 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Writer Petur Manolov Continues Hunger Strike"]

[Text] Bulgarian writer and journalist Petur Manolov, general secretary of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights, is continuing his hunger strike, which he started 30 days ago in Plovdiv, the country's second biggest city. On 11 January the militia searched his home and confiscated the author's personal works and the association's archives. Since then he has been asking in vain for these documents to be returned to him. Around 15 other intellectuals have apparently stopped eating to protest "harrassment by the Bulgarian authorities" and in solidarity with Mr Manolov, whose state of health is "worrying," according to a doctor who examined him on Tuesday 7 February.

Various organizations, like the Pen Club and, in the United States, the Journalists' Defense Committee, sent letters to the Sofia government and Bulgarian head of state Todor Zhivkov at the beginning of the month calling on the authorities to rapidly return Petur Manolov's personal documents and to end the persecution he is suffering.

In addition, Blaga Dimitrova, one of the 12 intellectuals received by President Francois Mitterrand during his official visit to Sofia, was strongly criticized by the Bulgarian Writers' Union weekly LITERATUREN FRONT for giving interviews to Radio Free Europe, urging it to intervene on Petur Manolov's behalf. "Why," the weekly writes, "is a writer picking up the telephone to seek an ally in a foreign radio station which slanders our people.... We will solve our problems ourselves, in our country and with our people." Strangely enough, LITERATUREN FRONT publishes five poems by Blaga Dimitrova in the same issue.

On 1 February, the writer wrote an open letter to Mr Zhivkov supporting Petur Manolov. That letter has since been signed by almost 50 Bulgarian intellectuals, demanding more "glasnost" in their country.

Dissidents Accused of 'Fascist' Activities

AU1002132789 Sofia BTA in English 1223 GMT 10 Feb 89

["Brown Color Records"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Who are the truth-lovers in Bulgaria and who defends them? —The answer to this question is in today's article in OTECHESTVEN FRONT by Nasko Mitev.

The author complements the fascist characterization of the self-proclaimed chairman of the so-called Independent Association for Protection of Human Rights in Bulgaria Iliya Minev with facts, which have been published in the issues of the POBEDA newspaper from May 28 and June 2 of 1933 (the newspaper was published in the city of Plovdiv, where Iliya Minev carried out his activity as a member of the fascist organization Union of Bulgarian National Legions). Both despatches, quoted in detail in the article, inform of outrages and beatings over secondary school students committed by Iliya Minev and other members of the fascist organization.

The fascist past of Iliya Minev can be clearly seen in his engagements as: head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Union of the Bulgarian National Legions, leader of the legions in Pazardzhik, and leader of armed fascist gangs who persecuted and repressed Communists and Jews.

The active participation of the legion members headed by Minev in the suppression of students' demonstrations at the Pazardzhik secondary school is confirmed also by facts published in the STUDENTSKO ZNAME (Students' Banner) newspaper on February 24 and April 10, 1933, recalls OTECHESTVEN FRONT.

The article points out also to data about the bloody outrages committed by Iliya Minev on Jews.

Along with the moral aspect of Iliya Minev, the author gives facts also about the behaviour of one of his dedicated defenders—the slanderer from Radio Free Europe Velichko Peychev.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT recalls the numerous activities of Velichko Peychev—all of them related to different slanders against Bulgaria. Dwelling on his initiative at the time of the anti-Bulgarian provocation in connection with the attempt on the life of the pope, when he emerged as a spontaneous witness and then hid away in order not to testify before the court, the author writes: Peychev probably understood that it is one thing to slander from a distance and another thing to appear before the court, that is why he hurriedly disappeared. Later on he once again tuned [as received] himself and acquired his present special line—defender of human rights.

In connection with the writings of French journalist Alain Chevaleria, of the East European correspondent of the Dutch radio and television Mr Dik Ferkaik, of the BBC's representative Mrs Mira Martin—who have rushed off in search of contacts with other representatives of the so-called independent association, the author writes: What happens? Either these colleagues are not interested in the past of the people they look for or they have permitted to become involved in a propaganda campaign which relies on the principle: The louder the noise, the lesser its content matters, summarises Nasko Mitev.

Radio Free Europe's Peychev Criticized

AU1302142389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 Feb 89 p 6

[Nasko Mitev article: "Brown Color Records"]

[Excerpts] On 3 February Velichko Peychev from Radio "Free Europe" called the OTECHESTVEN FRONT duty room. He wanted to know whether we in the Editorial Board had received the declaration of the "Independent Association for the Protection of Human Rights in Bulgaria." I told him that we had met. [passage omitted]

After the 1979 meeting with Peychev, I understood that he quickly outgrew his association with fascist and criminal elements and started working at Radio "Free Europe." There he started talking on a single theme—the mistakes of the Bulgarian leadership before and after World War II. He knew as much about those mistakes as he knew about the life of the Martians, to put it mildly. Those were the years when the Western propaganda centers used stereotypes of the "Cold War" period and Peychev quickly asserted himself in the ranks of the slanderers.

During the anti-Bulgarian campaign in connection with the attempt on the pope's life, he again displayed initiative and appeared in Rome as a "spontaneous witness" in the so-called "Antonov case." I remember the television reports in which he was shown showing off his "Free Europe" credentials in the courtroom. Surprisingly for all, and most of all for those who had sent him (rumor had it that the CIA had paid him a substantial amount of money), Peychev refused to testify "as a witness." Apparently he understood that it is one thing to slander from afar, but to testify in court is a completely different affair. Then he quickly disappeared. Afterwards he again "changed" the field of his activity and thus reached today's apex—the protection of human rights. [passage omitted]

Soviet Education Official Pays Official Visit

Received by Atanasov

AU1002181489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Today in Sofia, Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov received in Sofia Vladimir Shadrikov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for National Education of the USSR [title as heard].

They conversed about the renewal processes under way in the two countries in the spirit of the decisions of the party congresses and the restructuring of education being carried out, and discussed the possibilities for activating cooperation and the exchange of experience between educational figures.

Minister Ilcho Dimitrov, chairman of the Higher Academic Council, took part in the meeting.

Meets Yordanov; Departs

AU1102190589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Shadrikov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for National Education, has departed from Bulgaria.

The guests were acquainted with the restructuring of education in Bulgaria. Discussions were held on the possibilities for intensifying the cooperation in education and activating the direct links between Bulgarian and Soviet secondary and higher education establishments.

Vladimir Shadrikov was received by Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education.

Parliamentary Delegation Departs for Norway

AU1302102089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] A parliamentary delegation headed by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, departed for Norway today. The delegation will pay a 6-day visit to this country at the invitation of the Norwegian Parliament.

Shortcomings in Legal System Discussed

AU1002163289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by lawyer Georgi Khr. Georgiev: "The Strength and Weakness Which Laws Sometimes Generate"]

[Text] The prosecutor's offices are crowded on a daily basis by citizens who are applying for legal assistance in solving difficult problems, for protection against injustice, and for support in asserting their rights and legitimate interests. The questions they ask are so different that it is impossible to cite even a few typical examples.

In most cases, ordinary citizens feel encouraged after a visit to the prosecutor's office. Their confidence in the official institutions, and hence, in the law, is restored. However, this does not apply to everyone. We also hear expressions of dissatisfaction: "There are no laws in this country!"

In most cases in which the law is accused of being powerless, dissatisfaction stems from the fact that there is no specific law applying to certain problems affecting an individual—namely a strict law that should issue orders and punish. Some people believe that everything in life, every activity, and all human relations should be settled by norms. This is neither desirable nor possible.

The law has its own field of action, its own sphere, and this is a source of strength. Whenever the law goes beyond this sphere and interferes in areas which are not subject to legal settlement, the law loses its impact; it cannot be applied (either partially or entirely), or fails to achieve the original goals sought after when the particular law was adopted.

The law in itself is powerful. Its strength is based on its authority as a generally applicable rule, established by the state power and its supreme organ—the National Assembly.

Another cornerstone of socialist law is the confidence of the citizens—their conviction that a legal order is necessary and that this is a just order. It is an erroneous, or at least a one-sided opinion, that the strength of the law should solely rely on compulsory methods exerted by the state to guarantee the observance of the laws. Sociological research on the motivations of observing the Penal Code, for example, is rather revealing: The overwhelming majority of people think that the Penal Code should be observed because it protects the citizens' rights and freedoms and because it guarantees public law and order. This conclusion can also be applied to other laws.

Nevertheless, the law, though being powerful, is by no means all-powerful. It cannot encompass all spheres, and interferes in strictly personal human relations. Other normative systems—such as ethics and culture—are involved, and play a role in this respect. We sometimes expect too much of the law. Cases such as the following often come up in the practice of a prosecutor: A wife (or a husband) complains about the partner's unfaithfulness or rude behavior and appeals for assistance to the state organs. How can the law interfere in marital relations to this extent?

Nevertheless, the law could be paralyzed by the insufficient action of the organs in charge of enforcing it. The example of state-owned plots being robbed on a mass scale is very telling. The state and public organs should assume a firm attitude toward legal order, and not accept the violation of laws. The failure to take legal action against people when this action is legally justified deprives the law of its power and actually encourages violations. The nihilistic attitude of citizens related to legal instructions when the respective organs fail to show the necessary resistance also contributes to this situation.

Bureaucracy also shows its ugly face in connection with enforcing the laws: Formalism and restrictive measures which are not prescribed by the law, unsympathetic attitudes toward citizens, creating obstacles in connection with the exertion of rights, and all kinds of difficulties, which only a bureaucrat can invent, are the results of this. The great truth that the law has been made for man, and not man for the law is frequently forgotten.

In certain cases the citizens themselves are "responsible" for the fact that the law is unable to manifest its strength. It is true that the the state initially puts the mechanisms of the law into operation. However, in cases related to personal rights, it is the citizen who should seek the protection of the law since the legal mechanism would not function without his initiative. If a citizen should illegally seize someone else's property or violate the right of another citizen, the one who has been affected by such actions should apply to the court for legal protection or accordingly engage in other legal procedures. The same applies to some minor misdemeanors (so-called cases of an individual nature) such as contumely, slander, slight physical injuries, and so forth.

Reasons for impotence can also stem from the law itself when it does not conform with the objective rules of social development, when it contains essential shortcomings in its contents or in its formulation, or when no measures guaranteeing the application of the law have been provided. This is the case of so-called "dead laws" which try to settle problems that cannot be settled, or of laws for the practical application of which inappropriate methods have been selected.

Impotence is not a characteristic feature of the law. A law which is not being enforced loses its strength. Compromises in implementing a legal document undermine the foundations of the document. This is precisely why it is primarily important in preparing a legal document (and this applies not only to laws, but to decrees, codes of regulations, legal instructions, and others) to provide guarantees for its implementation.

State Policy Toward Cooperatives Questioned

AU0802122789 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 6 6 Feb 89 pp 1, 5

[Barukh Shamliev article: "Are Cooperatives an 'Evil Force'?"]

[Excerpts] One cannot understand how it is possible that today in Socialist Bulgaria state organs expropriate...cooperatives. It is a real paradox that municipal councils, and in some cases even higher state organs—in an absolute violation of the party's political premises on the full equality of state and cooperative property, as well as in violation of the instructions for secondary legal acts—with a stroke of the pen are expropriating cooperative property and turning it into state enterprises. In other words, they are celebrating at somebody else's expense.

Today the cooperatives are experiencing a dramatic evolution. Some 4-5 years ago they were criticized for having instilled a bourgeois spirit and money-making attitude. Now nobody is voicing such accusations. However, the old, deeply etched negative attitude toward the cooperatives essentially remains, because in practice they continue to be robbed (this is the precise word) in broad daylight. The practice of nationalizing cooperative

property continues, albeit tacitly. Obviously many people still do not understood the party premise that the cooperatives must develop as equal and full-fledged partners of the state and social structures in resolving the socioeconomic tasks in all spheres of our development.

Let us consider some specific examples. A decree was published recently on the correct use of the official motor vehicles. There hardly is a Bulgarian citizen who did not greet the spirit of this decree, aimed against those who "make mistakes," or rather cannot distinguish between official and private vehicles. However, this decree, in a completely unjust manner, affected the vehicles owned by the cooperatives. The vehicles owned by the cooperatives have not been purchased with state funds, but with their own business means and profits. Then why were the vehicles of the cooperatives expropriated on the following day after the decree was published? On what legal grounds?

I can cite another indicative example of the obsolete attitude toward the cooperatives. In their economic relations with the state, the cooperatives are obliged to pay only the envisaged taxes in local and foreign currency. The income tax is the basic form of regulating the collective and individual income. However, as a "bolt from the blue," this year the cooperatives received an additional foreign currency burden, which is 25 percent higher than the envisaged norm. Since this was a decision of the Ministry of Planning and Economy, we can imagine how things stand. [passage omitted]

I shall list no more examples, although many cases, sometimes less significant but more scandalous, exist in Blagoevgrad, Mikhaylovgrad, and many other places throughout the country.

One could ask where have the state prosecution, court, and other guardians of the law been in all these and other cases? [passage omitted]

Open the statistical yearbook of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and you will see that in the last 2 years, since the publication of the considerations on a new attitude toward the cooperatives, the ratio between state and cooperative property on a national scale has not changed even by one-tenth of a percent! Does this fact not show that for the time being we are putting more steam in the whistle than oil in the engine?

Leaders' Public Appearances for 27 Jan-3 Feb

AU0402142889

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 27 January to 3 February monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, announced unilateral cuts in the Bulgarian defense budget and the Bulgarian Armed Forces at a meeting of the State Council and Council of Ministers held in Sofia on 27 January. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 27 Jan 89) In Sofia on 31 January he presented awards to outstanding Bulgarian sportsmen and sportswomen at a meeting of the latter with the BCP Central Committee Secretariat. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 31 Jan 89) In Sofia on 1 February, Zhivkov received the letters of accreditation of the newly appointed ambassadors of the following countries: Tunisia, Mohammed Chaker (Sofia BTA 1844 GMT 1 Feb 89); Malta, Maurice Abela (Sofia BTA 1841 GMT 1 Feb 89); the DPRK, Kim Pyong-il (Sofia BTA 1845 GMT 1 Feb 89); and Brazil, Guy Marie Castro. (Sofia BTA 1840 GMT 1 Feb 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Dr Hugo Sekyra [name as received], an Austrian industrial leader, in Sofia on 27 January. (Sofia BTA 1653 GMT 27 Jan 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, spoke at a press conference in Sofia on 27 January on a forthcoming world exhibition of inventions. (Sofia BTA 1847 GMT 27 Jan 89)

Czech-Made Explosives Found on Danish Vessel

AU1502100489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 6

[Report in the "They Said, They Wrote—Foreign Press on 9 February 1989" column]

[Text] The Italian dailies L'UNITA, CORRIERE DELLA SERA, and IL TEMPO report that the Danish vessel Jane Star, carrying—in addition to weapons, also explosives, allegedly made in Czechoslovakia—was apprehended in the Italian port of Savona on Wednesday evening [8 February]. The reports do not specify which arms dealer is behind the suspect consignment. As it is known, Czechoslovakia has not exported explosives since the beginning of the eighties. The vessel belongs to the Seagull Shipping Company.

News Conference Held on Government Session

AU1302150989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Igor Sirota report: "Help for Krkonose; From a News Conference on the Government Session"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—Addressing a news conference immediately after the CSSR Government session in Prague on Thursday [9 February], Vladimir Korinek, section chief at the Ministry of Forestry, Water Economy, and the Wood-Processing Industry of the Czech SR, said that roughly one-half of the forest vegetation in the Krkonose mountains is severely damaged.

This transpires from a report of the Czech SR Government on the state of forestry and water economy in the Krkonose area, which the CSSR Government discussed at its session on Thursday. Emissions, as a result of which entire forests are dying out, are mainly to blame. More than one-half of the pollutants are emitted by installations belonging to Czechoslovakia's northern neighbors. The meeting of the CSSR premier with the heads of government of neighboring countries on ecological issues should help tackle this very grave problem. Tourism also has a negative impact on the condition of the Krkonose mountains.

Czechoslovak power-generating and other installations are also partly to blame. The Federal Government therefore assigned the tasks of supplying the Trutnov-Porici power station and other installations with sufficient amounts of bituminous coal with a low sulfur content and proceeding with the conversion to gas in the area.

The three plants belong to the East Bohemian State Forests that operate in the Krkonose National Park do not engage in forestry in the true sense of the word, but salvage forests, Vladimir Korinek said. About 90 percent of tree cutting, for example, is concentrated in localities where trees are dying out. Green trees are saved through fertilization. The application of liquid fertilizers in 2-year cycles prolongs the lives of trees by an average of 10 years. Birches, Mountain Ashes, and other resistant trees are being planted in bare places to prevent soil erosion. Young seedlings are planted on an average of 1,000 hectares every year, 70 percent of them by hand. The foresters praise the help of young people in this work.

Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, was asked whether reports that mud excavated from the Elbe in Hamburg is to be deposited on Czechoslovak territory were true.

"According to information provided by the Czech Geological Office, the Intergeo Prague enterprise was approached by a foreign middleman in mid-1988, who offered to deposit [in Czechoslovakia] material excavated in the mouth of the Elbe in Hamburg," M. Pavel replied. "The transaction would have involved the importing and depositing of roughly 1.5 million tonnes of material annually over a period of 10 years. Analyses have revealed that the mud contains a number of poisonous heavy metals in high concentration, as well as a high concentration of other elements that are potentially dangerous and whose effects are either not immediately visible or are even still unknown. Therefore, on 31 January this year, the chairman of the Czech Geological Office told the director of the Intergeo Prague enterprise that the storing of any such substances in the CSSR is out of the question. He banned any further talks, inquiries, or work on this issue. It is also Intergeo's duty to notify its partners of this decision expeditiously and to consign the documentation to the filing cabinet."

Frantisek Dolezel, head of the CSSR delegation at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, briefed journalists on the government's discussion of the contents of the final document of that meeting. The final document is a success for the all-European process and reflects the improving international relations and the two sides' constructive approach. It is currently being translated into Czech and Slovak and will be published in the form of a brochure within 2 to 3 weeks with a print run of approximately 100,000 copies. The document's publication will be followed by a number of other steps, including a comparison of the Czechoslovak legal practice and laws with the international commitments arising from the adoption of the document. This will not be a one-time undertaking, but a process. The CSSR is ready to translate the Vienna document into life. The implementation of the document and its monitoring will be discussed by representatives of the participating states in Helsinki in 1992. Until then, an additional 11 conferences and meetings will be held.

The CSSR was the first state to propose, in 1986, to hold a meeting on economic issues; it proposed that this meeting be held in Prague. The conference will be in the FRG. Three of the follow-up events will be held this year. As Frantisek Dolezel noted, the Saturday [11 February] issue of RUDE PRAVO will inform readers in detail on the contents of the meeting and the final document.

M. Pavel also replied to a foreign journalist's question concerning a letter which the CSSR premier received from a group of cultural workers, in which they demand the release of some persons detained during the days of the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square. He said that every day the CSSR premier receives a large number of various letters, suggestions, comments, and complaints. The letter bearing the signatures of some artists, which also concerns Vaclav Havel, therefore, cannot be regarded as something extraordinary. It is fully in harmony with the right of every Czechoslovak citizen or group of citizens to turn to any state body.

I would like to stress, however, that the federal premier does not have the constitutional right to intervene in matters within the jurisdiction of those agencies that play a part in criminal proceedings in their investigation of individual cases of unlawful conduct. Nor does he have the right to influence the activity of these agencies in any way. Just like in other countries, it is only the courts that decide on guilt or innocence and the form or length of punishment. Moreover, our country's historical experience clearly shows that breaches of this key principle of the legal order have always had to be paid for quite dearly.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Ecological Investment

LD1002173889 Prague CTK in English 1603 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Prague, Feb 10 (CTK)—At its regular session today, the Presidium of the Czecoslovak Communist Party Central Committee discussed the issue of investments in ecology in the Eighth Five-Year Plan period (1986-90).

It noted that the building of projects to protect the environment has been falling short of the extent envisaged by the 17th congress of the party. Capital construction in this sphere reached in the three years of the 8th Five-Year Plan period roughly the same extent as over the whole period of the Sixth or Seventh Five-Year Plans.

The Presidium approved the composition of a commission to draft a part of a report concerning the party's social and economic policies for the 18th party congress, led by Jozef Lenart.

The presidium considered a Czechoslovak-Soviet draft concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries for 15 to 20 years.

It took note of a report on the course of the visit to the GDR by party Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik on February 1-3.

It relieved Jaroslav Cejka of the post of editor-in-chief of the weekly for literature, politics, culture and arts "TVORBA" in view of his assignment to other duties, and named Ivan Matejka, till now Cejka's deputy, to the post.

Meeting for Chairmen in State Enterprises Held

Lenart Opens Session

AU0902152689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Accelerating the Restructuring Process; National Conference of Party Committee Chairmen in State Enterprises; Session Opened by Comrade Jozef Lenart; Main Report Read by Comrade Frantisek Hanus; Comrade Bohumil Urban Spoke of Issues Tied to Current Economic Influences"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The national conference of party committee chairmen in state enterprises, held in Prague yesterday [7 February], dealt with the CPCZ's topical tasks in the present period and with the exchange of experience acquired in the work of party committees in state enterprises. It was opened by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

The main paper was read by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. He stressed, inter alia, that a great deal has been done since the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee session, which set the course of restructuring and democratization. However, these were merely the first steps on our road. **At the present stage of restructuring we must speed up our economic, social, spiritual, and general social development.** The need to **implement the CPCZ's leading role in society with greater vigor** is becoming more obvious and urgent than ever. [passage omitted]

Comrade Hanus then stressed that the party needs unity of ideology and action. It is essential that party organizations and all Communists step up activities to influence the general political atmosphere in workplaces, explain the purpose of restructuring directly to working collectives, openly discuss the CPCZ's policy and the problems accompanying our development with nonmembers or with members of other political parties, and persuade them to actively help to accelerate our social and economic development. **All party work in the sphere of economic policy must be quickly adjusted to the new conditions of greater independence and responsibility.**

On the whole, it is necessary to give more thought to ways of making a greater impact on the people's minds, i.e. to ideological work. The progress of social restructuring, the intensification of social democracy, and the involvement of broad strata of our working people in these processes **has lately been going hand in hand with a striking activation of forces which want to abuse these processes and reverse our socialist development.**

Comrade Hanus also spoke about cadre work. In this context, he said: In the restructuring period, the cadres have to face completely new demands. The emphasis lies on their political maturity, on their willingness to become involved, to search for and implement non-traditional

approaches, to take healthy risks, to accept responsibility, to adopt clear stands, and to make their attitudes an example for others. **Party committees must now devote great care to the work of self-management bodies and help to introduce this form of the working collectives' participation in management work.** [passage omitted]

Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, spoke of the problems linked with the current economic impacts. He spoke of the 1989 plan, based on the realities of 1988, when we were able to fulfill most volume indicators, while the qualitative aspect of our economy remained basically the same. Therefore, the 1989 plan counts on improving the indicators—for instance, via an approximately 1.1-percent reduction in costs and a more than 8-percent increase in profits. [passage omitted]

The most significant issue in our economy, Bohumil Urban said, is a certain imbalance, above all between the monetary incomes of our population and the amounts of goods on the market. This means that **certain production sectors are not accomplishing their tasks in terms of quantity, quality, or effectiveness, while the wages are growing as was originally envisaged by the 5-year plan.** This is particularly due to the large number of construction projects which have been begun, but not yet completed (to the tune of about Kcs170 billion); to the insolvency of enterprises (totalling Kcs45 billion); and to the amount of money paid out over and above the plan (approximately Kcs7 billion). [passage omitted]

During the discussion, the chairmen of party committees in state enterprises—we currently have 182 of them—spoke about of the experience acquired to date in the restructuring process, from the viewpoint of the economy and of party work. They spoke about the problems which such a significant change in the life of our society naturally brings with it, and of the good results already achieved. [passage omitted]

Hanus Addresses Officials

AU1302123989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 89 p 4

["From the Speech of Comrade Frantisek Hanus," CPCZ Central Committee secretary, at the national conference of party committee chairmen in state enterprises, in Prague on 7 February: "Unity and Action Ability—Prerequisites of Success"]

[Excerpts] The main speech at the conference of party committee chairmen in state enterprises, in Prague on Tuesday [7 February], was delivered by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. He said, among other things:

The party's activities are currently characterized by an effort to implement the conclusions of the 17th Party Congress—particularly those adopted at the last Central Committee sessions, which specified the course to be taken in restructuring all aspects of life in our society and in intensifying socialist democracy. This makes it imperative to look for, and to apply, new methods and forms of work which correspond to the nature of our tasks and the significance of the present period and which are based both on our domestic conditions, and on the international situation. [passage omitted]

If we have grasped the entire scope of restructuring, we must realize that we have taken merely the first steps on this road. It is only natural that not everything is as it should be, and that at times we are confronted by risky situations. Quite a number of critics are saying that restructuring is not progressing as quickly as it should; we can also hear the radical view that nothing need be changed. We all know that restructuring is a difficult and complicated path of deep qualitative changes. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the present, and the results that are being achieved, demand far more determination from us. This is also essential for creating the conditions that will make restructuring irreversible.

Thus it is more urgent than ever to be far more energetic and creative in asserting the Communist Party's leading role in the society as a conscious-minded, organized vanguard of the workers class, of other working people, of all our people. Since the party has provided the incentive for restructuring, the party must also guarantee that it will proceed at an optimum rate and yield the best overall results. The work of party organizations and agencies in production, in the state enterprises—the primary material base of our socialist society—plays a big role in this.

That is why our Communist Party, inspired by the example of the CPSU, has wisely and correctly set the course toward extensively restructuring our society. [passage omitted] The main purpose of restructuring is the development of the workers and other people working in material production directly; objectively, it is they that most need restructuring to be realized, and they that are, therefore, most interested in it. It is essential and imperative to give a new quality to their links with scientists and technicians, with the economic and other leading staff, and with the intelligentsia in general.

That is why restructuring cannot be simply the sum total of partial reforms, be they ever so significant and deep. Its comprehensive implementation must truly make it a new stage of our revolution. We therefore, properly characterize restructuring as a great revolutionary task of the party and the entire society. [passage omitted]

Democratization is and must be a prerequisite and an inseparable part of restructuring. Naturally, democratization must be understood as the development of socialist democracy, of the power of workers united with farmers and the intelligentsia—it must be understood as a class democratization, not as some abstract or unrestrained democratization. That is why we definitely reject the endeavors of various antisocialist groups, large

and small, to influence our public life and to determine its course. These efforts are attempts to turn us back not merely to 1968, but—by the logic of development—to the times preceding Munich.

It is most important to familiarize ourselves with the experience of the CPSU and to make use of it. We are linked with the CPSU by identical socialist goals, which is why the overall orientation of restructuring in our society is directed toward expanding and intensifying our cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union, in keeping with our own interests and with those of socialism in general. [passage omitted]

A realistic appraisal of the situation shows us the risks that may be concealed in the implementation of individual restructuring measures. Obviously, we will also be unable to avoid certain conflicts. Thus it is essential that the enterprises and party agencies continuously appraise the effects of adopted measures and search for ways to solve the problems ensuing from the activities of their enterprise during the transitional period. A great role is played in all this by a uniform center which generalizes these problems and finds ways to resolve them in keeping with the principles of restructuring.

It is a great mistake that some economic staff—and, deplorably, even certain party organizations—tend to expect the new economic mechanism to solve all problems and difficulties. They are unnecessarily wasting precious time. A mechanism which would be a universal remedy does not, cannot exist—even the most perfect mechanism can only define working rules. The decisive factor is, and will be, the work done by the people, and primarily the executive staff, their knowledge, political approach, involvement, willingness, and determination to solve issues in new ways and to take healthy risks. [passage omitted]

The experience of the party's rich history convincingly proves that the main, basic prerequisite of party committee work is the party's ideological and action unity. The party's unity is not set down by statutes alone, it is created in everyday activities, in the struggle for achieving goals and fulfilling party resolutions. The party is not, and cannot, be divided into "those above," who make all the decisions, and "those below," who blindly carry out these decisions. The party must be united both in the center and on all levels down to primary organizations; this is particularly true today.

Every Communist is responsible to the party for his sector, his results, and the way he helps to create and carry out its policy. We cannot help seeing that in the preceding period many Communists have become somewhat lax, that they have forgotten, as individual party members, how to stick their necks out, to use a simile, how to conduct debates, and how to defend and assert our policy.

It is essential that party organizations and all Communists step up activities to influence the general political atmosphere in workplaces, explain the purpose of restructuring directly to working collectives, openly discuss the party's policy and the problems accompanying our development with the people, ask the nonmembers' advice, and persuade them to actively help to accelerate our social and economic development. The main thing is to prod the working collectives to greater initiative—and everybody knows that if I want to get somebody moving, I must first get moving myself.

The current changes in the enterprise sphere, connected with our transition to the new economic mechanism and the effects of the law on state enterprises, are a complicated process involving many risks. We have no ready-made, perfect models at our disposal—every enterprise works under specific conditions, and it is therefore impossible to proceed according to a certain pattern. We must search for, and distil, the most effective approaches, methods, and forms of work that would correspond to specific conditions.

That is also why the party's Central Committee Secretariat has decided to check on the practical activities of party committees. On no account do we want them to be superfluous intermediary links of the party structure, complicating our party work. We will define their orientation and their methods and forms of work and gather and accumulate their experience. We must focus attention on shaping the relations between party committees and regional party agencies.

There is general consent about the establishment and activities of party committees. However, we are not succumbing to the illusion that everything is all right here. Methods and forms of work used in former administrative-bureaucratic management are being put on the agenda of many party committees. Some of their members prefer to defend the interests of their party organization and their workplace, forgetting the interests of the enterprise and the society as a whole; their sessions often adopt general, unspecific conclusions.

Party work in the sphere of economic policy must be quickly adjusted to the new conditions of greater independence, but also greater responsibility. **Party committees play an essential role—they must guarantee that provisions will be made for harmonizing the interests of the enterprise and the society when the enterprises develop socialist entrepreneurship in their activities.** This task is the most complicated of all. First, it must be made clear what is socialist entrepreneurship, in the true sense, and what is pseudo-entrepreneurship, which is detrimental to the society and must be resolutely fought against. It is essential to realize that socialist entrepreneurship in particular will decisively determine the success of the enterprise collective's work. In appraising these issues, party committees must proceed from the premise that socialist enterprises operate in a certain area, as a subsidiary system of the statewide economic system. It is

impossible to take the path of one's own entrepreneurship at any price. Orientation toward a short-lived effect, or the use of "gaps" in legal regulations for attaining cheap profit, has nothing in common with socialist entrepreneurship. [passage omitted]

Party committee work must clearly intensify the flow of information to all working people and the general public. Research shows that most nonmembers know nothing about the issues discussed in party organizations. **This is one of the obstacles hampering a more intensive involvement of working people without party affiliation in the solution of contemporary tasks in workplaces.**

It is also necessary to make better use of plant bulletins for reporting on party committee sessions and on the general activities of party organizations in enterprises. [passage omitted]

On the whole, it is necessary to give more thought to ways of making a greater impact on the people's minds, i.e. to ideological work. Recent days and events in the Wenceslas Square in Prague have shown that the progress of social restructuring, the intensification of socialist democracy, and an increasingly broader involvement of the broad strata of our working people in these processes have lately been going hand in hand with a striking activation of forces which are striving to abuse these processes and reverse the socialist development in our fatherland.

Various smaller groups and groupings, interlinked through the most active members of the so-called Charter 77, are taking parasitic advantage of the problems and difficulties in the life of our society. Their goals lie outside the sphere demarcated by socialist pluralism, they want to denigrate and discredit the course of restructuring. In their activities they are increasingly abandoning their positions as pseudo-moral and democratic revivalists of socialism in favor of launching open appeals to eliminate socialism. Basically, we have here an open confrontation with the political system of our society, an endeavor to slap together some kind of legal political opposition hiding behind phrases about democracy.

That is why the present situation demands from us a far more consistent and offensive course against the antisocialist forces. We are for a full freedom of the minds—one's views are everybody's own affair. However, the pluralism of socialist views does not mean we will allow a public propagation of attitudes and the development of activities ultimately aimed at undermining our socialist system—the result of the struggles, sacrifices, and work of generations of people striving to attain national independence and social justice.

In the restructuring period, the cadres have to face completely new demands. The main emphasis lies on the attitude maintained by the cadres toward acceleration, restructuring, and democratization, on their ability to specifically provide for this line. The important thing is their political maturity, their knowledge and experience, their fighting spirit, and their willingness to become involved, to search for and implement non-traditional approaches, to take healthy risks, to accept responsibility, to adopt a clear stand, and to make their attitude an example for others. The selection and educating of cadres must be adapted to meet these requirements.

We understand the revolutionary spirit of today primarily as a consistent, enterprising, and creative implementation of the party's policy—not by mere words, but by achieving specific results. And results must be the decisive criteria in assessing the cadres. [passage omitted]

The task of party committees is to help the new self-management bodies find their specific position in enterprises and the corresponding practical content and style of their work. This applies in particular to the assessment of more long-term conceptual issues. [passage omitted]

Likewise, by means of political control we must establish conditions which would prevent self-management bodies from slipping into passive debates, passive approvals, or formalism, from issuing reminders about unessential matters, and from raising unsubstantiated demands. [passage omitted]

During the precongress period our main concern will be to achieve a deep democratization of life inside the party and its comprehensive activation. A significant role must be played here by annual members meetings and party conferences. We must create a demanding atmosphere and take basic steps toward restructuring party work; we must place great emphasis on preparing the annual sessions in terms of contents, cadres, and organization, and we must lay the foundations for this already when interviewing party members and candidate members—these talks should on no account be a mere formality, they should be a significant source of knowledge for every organization, and an impetus for vigorous and exemplary work for every Communist.

Stepan Attends Prague Party Meeting

LD1002060889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, attended a working meeting of party activists in Prague's main enterprises today. Here is a report from our correspondent Lubos Lidicky:

[Begin Lidicky recording] The working meeting dealt with the coming Prague City CPCZ Committee plenary session. Comrade Stepan briefed those at the meeting on the current situation in Prague where, he said, a struggle is under way for confidence in the party and its authority among the broad masses of the people. There is a need, he said, to stir into action both the party and society as a whole in the direction of restructuring, to put an end to idle discussion, and finally to come to grips with urgent problems. In this context, Comrade Stepan gave some

examples of how the city party conference's resolutions are being implemented. Public scrutiny of the housing stock in Prague, for example, revealed 6,000 apartments that were either unoccupied or being used for speculative purposes. Tough measures have been taken against rent defaulters, with rent arrears in Prague alone amounting to Kcs 50 million. A general building plan is being drafted for the development of the capital city, and it will be presented for discussion by the people who live and work in it. Later, Prague's economy will be structurally reorganized, and two laws on Prague are in the final stage of preparation. They will define Prague's status as the capital city of the federation and of the Czech SR.

In the debate, the participants discussed the national committees' work; the election of directors, which have not always been properly prepared; and the restructuring of ideology and propaganda. [end recording]

Knotek Addresses Slovak Trade Union Meeting

AU1002211289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Slovak Trade Union Council Ends; Effective Mobilization of the Working People"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The 2-day ninth plenary meeting of the Slovak Trade Union Council (SOR) continued in Bratislava yesterday [8 February] with the discussion of the tasks of trade union bodies in the Slovak SR connected with ensuring this year's socioeconomic development and with the participation of trade unions in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The meeting was attended by Ivan Knotek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak SR. [passage omitted]

Comrade Ivan Knotek spoke at the discussion.

He thanked—on behalf of the Government of the Slovak SR—the SOR, all trade union bodies and working people of Slovakia for their selfless work last year which—despite complexities—we consider to be a successful year. After expressing appreciation for the predominantly positive results, he noted problems and shortcomings which in some enterprises were manifested by an uneven fulfillment of the plan, and which cropped up in the comprehensive housing construction and which also affected the supply of the domestic market.

The most serious thing is that we have not succeeded with the necessary speed to ensure the crucial task of the 17th CPCZ Congress—the faster implementation of scientific-technical progress in practice. There continue considerable inconsistencies regarding the comprehension and assertion of the strategic line of the acceleration of socioeconomic development, determined by the 17th party congress, especially of the tasks of restructuring set by the 7th CPCZ Central Committee session.

It would be incorrect, he said, to assess the contemporary situation and the achieved results nihilistically and not to see the immense organizational work of ministries and other central bodies, enterprises, and plants, carried out with the active assistance of the party bodies and trade unions.

This year the Government of the Slovak SR and the federal government will discuss fundamental measures aimed at carrying out structural changes in individual production branches and adopt decisions on productions to be phased out. At the same time it is necessary to achieve an even more effective interlinkage of the Czechoslovak economy, of its individual enterprises, with the CEMA market, especially with the Soviet Union. We regard the consistent deepening of socialist democracy, activating the National Front, developing fruitful dialogue aimed at strengthening the achievements of socialism and at perfecting socialism, and increasing people's direct participation in administration and management as being equally important. Therefore, in connection with the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, work is getting under way on the formulation and drafting of the CPCZ program, new CPCZ Statutes, the CSSR Constitution, a new election program, and other legal norms. We must rightly note that it is impossible to postpone the aforementioned tasks, because this would slow down the process of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres of society's life.

In another part of his speech, the Slovak premier underscored the importance of economic agreements and stressed the need to stabilize the domestic market. In this connection he called on trade union bodies and organizations to exert justified pressure and not forgive economic personnel their shortcomings, and to press for strengthening the working and technological discipline so that only quality products would be delivered to the market. At the same time the important thing is to implement the principle that work in enterprises must have a socialist character, which fully considers the man, his demands regarding working environment, health, social security, cultural self-realization, growth of professional qualifications, and the replacement of manpower. In this respect the trade unions have an indispensable right and duty: on the one hand to actively support the management of enterprises in the interest of greater profitability and efficiency of production, and on the other hand to safeguard the achievements of socialism and the working people, and not permit these achievements to be circumvented as a consequence of the poor management of enterprises, and to reduce their political effect.

In connection with the ideological-educational activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, Comrade Knotek noted the need to prudently but resolutely oppose any misuse of the process of restructuring and democratization to antisocialist objectives by various groups, which manipulate, in particular, the minds of young people.

In conclusion, Ivan Knotek expressed the conviction that in the year of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, in the year when our entire society is preparing for the deliberations of the 18th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress, the trade union movement in the Slovak SR will significantly contribute to the fulfillment of the tasks of the national economic plan. [passage omitted]

Janak Meets Artists, Condemns Charter 77
AU1002191289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK Bratislava dispatch: "To Develop Active Political Work; A Meeting With Representatives of the Arts Unions"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday in Bratislava a meeting was held between leading functionaries of the CPSL Central Committee and the Slovak SR Ministry of Culture and representatives of the arts unions, which concentrated on the current tasks of party cultural policy in the process of restructuring. Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, Gejza Slapka, CPSL Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, Rudolf Jurik, Jozef Sevc, and Igor Skorica, heads of CPSL Central Committee departments, Pavel Koys, Slovak SR minister of culture, and others took part.

In his introduction Comrade Ignac Janak stressed the fact that working people support the efforts of the party for the thorough fulfillment of the party line on the acceleration of socioeconomic development and restructuring of our society. The intelligentsia, cultural, and artistic front participate significantly in the implementation of contemporary revolutionary tasks. However, we cannot fail to see that there are also forces in our country which act like parasites on the existing problems of our society and spread the impression that we can achieve their eradication only when we abandon the road of socialist construction. They are concentrated around "Charter 77" and other illegal structures supported by various circles in Western countries. Comrade Ignac Janak emphasized that we will not permit anyone to thwart the effort of our society for the further improvement of its socialist development. Everyone who sincerely identifies with socialism has widespread opportunities to join in the process of restructuring and democratization. This is unthinkable without the role of culture and art, and therefore, the CPSL Central Committee is expecting even greater initiative and activity from these workers. We want culture, which we consider to be the significant factor in the creation of social awareness, active work, and the intensification of the socialist way of life, to have a steady place in restructuring.

We consider one of the main tasks to be the acceleration of efforts to raise the quality of works of art and to put across cultural values. To creatively produce in individual types of art a truthful artistic picture, to arouse and stimulate the activity of people, to influence their opinion, moral position, and behavior.

This requires that even greater professional demands be placed on artistic and cultural activity and at the same time it also requires an even greater responsibility of the arts unions and cultural workers for their work.

In the discussion, the representatives of the arts unions praised the significance of the exchange of views for a joint searching of ways toward the acceleration of restructuring and democratization. They pointed out the need to make more use of dialogue, in which attitudes could be clarified in the confrontation of opinions.

Pavel Koys, the Slovak SR minister of culture, also spoke in the discussion. He praised the work of the arts unions, particularly their contribution to the fact that when forces hostile to socialism tried to whip up a psychosis, Slovak artists behaved correctly as artists and citizens despite the fact that attempts were made to manipulate them.

In the period when the 18th party congress is being prepared—said Pavel Koys—communists in culture also must become active as the pioneers of new ideas.

The meeting confirmed that the Slovak artistic front is prepared to help in the fulfillment of the current tasks of party cultural policy in the process of restructuring.

Daily on Pre-1968 CPCZ Officials' 'Activation'
LD1502095389 Prague CTK in English 0845 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—Today's Czechoslovak Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO commented on activation of some former 1968 Communist Party officials who want to organize a so-called club of socialist revival.

The paper said that its editors received a letter by these representatives containing a so-called statement signed by seven persons headed by former chief of the Military Academy of Political Studies, Vaclav Mencl, who had been expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party for his right-wing opportunist attitudes. The signatories of the "statement" pose as predecessors of the restructuring, they profess "Dubcek's policy formulated in the action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party of April 1968." They use many of the ideas that were heard in the last few years at sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, in speeches of our leading representatives, in our mass media, RUDE PRAVO said.

"However, they also claim that the road of the development of society 'based on democratic socialism' was abandoned after February 1948, that the 'opportunity' was not used to return to the indivisible symbiosis of national, democratic and socialist ideals, which was created in the 1960's and that the year 1968 was a 'hopeful attempt' to make deep social changes by means of the process of revival", the daily said.

RUDE PRAVO said that the organizers of the so-called revival proclaim, besides general statements such as adherence to all reform steps, the necessity of giving a complete picture of national history, organizing seminars, discussions of experts, etc. "This is also the only concrete point of their stand," the daily said.

"Behind general slogans on restructuring and democratization taken out from the present-day vocabulary an intention is evidently hidden which has little in common with restructuring and democratization—the efforts of right-wing opportunists of the year 1968 aimed at their rehabilitation as well as at the rehabilitation of the policy they used to pursue," RUDE PRAVO stressed.

"Overthrowing the existing political system, the system of the national front of the Czechs and Slovaks, casting doubt on all achievements of the past 40 years are not a program for discussion. Authors of the letter presented on behalf of the so-called 'revival—club for socialist restructuring' have offered nothing else so far," RUDE PRAVO said.

Rights Committee, Officials on Prague Protests
LD1402184689 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—The Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation organized here today a working meeting with the Czechoslovak prosecutor-general and other officials.

Present at the meeting were Chairman of the Czechoslovak Human Rights Committee Professor Zdenek Dienstbier, its deputy chairman Petr Mison, its secretary Vladimir Flegl, Prosecutor-General of the Czech Socialist Republic Jaroslav Krupauer, Prosecutor-General of the Slovak Socialist Republic Pavel Kis and Chief Military Prosecutor Major-General Jan Kollar.

Representatives of the committee informed the other side of their tasks, particularly in the implementation of the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In this connection they asked the Czechoslovak prosecutor-general and the Czech prosecutor-general to provide the committee with an impartial explanation concerning the January events in Prague, on the basis of an analysis of its causes, course and consequences, including legal judgement of the adequacy of the means used by the security bodies to restore order.

Czechoslovak Prosecutor-General Jan Pjescak stressed the necessity of the further deepening of the legal character of the socialist state and in this context also of a more consistent protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens. Linked to this is also the implementation of all international commitments undertaken by Czechoslovakia whose impact on the inter-state legal code must be further improved.

He said that the prosecutor-general's control is concentrating ever more on those spheres where the danger of violations of the citizens' rights and freedoms is relatively highest, e.g. strict observance of laws during prosecution, detention, custody, imprisonment, psychiatrical treatment and other cases which seriously affect the rights and freedoms of citizens.

The prosecutor-general informed the representatives of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation of some questions of struggle against crime and stressed the effort to resolutely and in harmony with international commitments strive to expose and punish such serious crimes as terrorism. The prosecutor-general at the same time promised to submit the demanded explanation of the January events in Prague. The prosecutor-general's office will do its best for an objective and legal investigation of complaints concerning human rights, he said.

Artists' Petition for Havel's Release Viewed
AU1302151189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 p 1

[Jan Kliment article in the "In Reply to Readers' Questions" column: "On the Letter to the CSSR Premier"]

[Excerpts] [Question] There is much talk about a letter from cultural workers to the premier. Why does RUDE PRAVO not take some stand on it?

(V. Janecek from Prague, and other readers)

[Answer] RUDE PRAVO wrote about the queried letter on 31 January, in the "In Reply to Readers' Questions" column. We also mentioned that the organizers of the letter, which carries some 700 signatures of actors and other cultural workers (but also technical and administrative employees of cultural institutions), first informed some foreign radio stations about the action and only then the addressee.

Let us add that the letter demanded the release of persons detained in connection with the unauthorized demonstrations in Wenceslas Square in Prague, specifically the release of the "outstanding playwright and upright man" Vaclav Havel; expressed criticism for the way in which Czechoslovak media reported the aforementioned events; and called for a dialogue with "Czechoslovak authorities." The signatories of the letter have meanwhile been joined by some 300 additional persons.

Yesterday RUDE PRAVO published the position of Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. [passage omitted]

Let us add to this that neither V. Havel nor the other organizers of the demonstrations were detained because of their literary activity, but because of a suspected breach of law. And laws apply to every citizen. It is up to independent agencies to determine the culpability or

innocence before the law of every citizen concerned. Let us only add, not for the first time, that whipping up passions and, still less so, attempts to destabilize the republic and sow unrest will be of no benefit to constructive and fruitful dialogue on how to develop our socialist society and solve its problems.

Business in Damaged Buildings in Usti Resumes
AU1402163189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 p 1

["kr"-signed report: "North Bohemian Regional National Committee Resumes Work"]

[Excerpts] Usti nad Labem (our correspondent)—The North Bohemian Regional National Committee, the national committee of the city of Usti nad Labem, and other organizations that conduct business in the buildings damaged by the explosion of a charge on Wednesday [8 February], partially resumed operations on Friday [10 February]. At the same time, the clearing of debris, broken glass, and broken walls has begun. [passage omitted] The repairs will be rather costly because the explosion damaged not only windows and facades, but it also bent and tore apart a thick reinforced concrete plate over an underground parking facility. The condition of the buildings' infrastructure is being checked by building inspectors.

Commentator Urges Serious Attitude on Terror
AU1302161589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 1

[Karel Walter commentary: "What We Take Seriously"]

[Text] We have many concerns and many complicated problems to solve. Some of them we brought upon ourselves because we did not discern their evolution or did not predict what was happening in our country or in the world.

Everyone has, of course, the right to his own evaluation of reasons for a given phenomenon or failure, the right to an opinion and where and how to seek a solution. At the same time, everyone starts out from his own experiences, from life, from politics, from information on economic questions, state-forming questions, and cultural questions, experiences of which, let us dare to say it, there is now enough.

There is a saying: so many people, so many opinions. The substantial intensification of public access to information and the democratization taking place in our society have unleashed a tide of opinions, thoughts, stimuli, and comments. Many of these have already found their expression in the documents which lend a basic direction to further development and imprint a new character on the life of society. They pursue honorable aims and reflect the honest endeavor and the spiritual richness of millions of citizens of this country. Without the participation of the people no great changes will come about. Without them the best thoughts will remain only words and disappointment and helplessness will remain from all the vigor. Therefore, we are increasing the tempo at which we put the aims of restructuring into practice, therefore we welcome so much each clever head and each helpful hand that wants to contribute to the transformation of the socialist present into an even better socialist future.

We do not conceal the fact that difficulties accompany restructuring, difficulties with which we must come to terms. Therefore, perhaps, some people up until now still do not believe, they hesitate, they stand by the side. We trust that further results and facts will convince them.

However, other people also live among us. Such people for whom the very existence of socialism is, for one reason or another, like a thorn in the flesh. They think that their opportunity has come, that the wind of restructuring is blowing into their sails. They have mouths full of "democracy" and "freedom". They have overtly indicated where they stand and what they want. American radio stations claim that it is necessary to take various illegal groups seriously. Yes, today it is impossible to doubt that. It is necessary to take seriously everyone who, hiding behind whatever kind of appealing slogans, incites hysteria, chaos and subversion, nervousness and fear.

It is also necessary to take seriously almost 80 threatening anonymous telephone calls or letters of a terrorist nature which were reported on the territory of our republic between 10 January and 9 February 1989, it is necessary to take very seriously Wednesday's [8 February] explosion in the center of the regional city of Usti nad Labem.

Is this, perhaps, to be the "dialogue" so much trumpeted by Western radio stations, for example by Radio Free Europe, which on 3 February even gave instructions on how someone should proceed against the state organs in our country. Or is this the way "the forces of national self-preservation have begun to wake up," which we were able to find out from the same source on 5 February? In the same program it was also announced that "everything here (in the CSSR) has happened and is happening from domestic initiative and at the personal risk of the courageous people who, as the first ones, have realized their responsibility for the fate of their society. During all of this the West or foreigners were always only in the role of sympathetic observers."

A preventative "washing their own hands"? Why not, for "the courageous people at home" indeed speak with their own mouths, whether under the direction of one or another.

Let those people like it or not—in our country there is only one road, the socialist road. It is also broad enough for all those who want to constructively share in all social life. Intimidation and terror must not have and will not have any place in our socialist democracy.

Obzina in Great Britain for Trade Talks

Arrives for Visit

LD1102193989 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] London Feb 11 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina arrived here today for a four-day official visit.

Jaromir Obzina will discuss with representatives of the British Government trade and economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. He will also confer with representatives of significant British firms, officials of the Union of British Industry, the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the European Trade Council.

Meets Foreign Secretary

LD1302184788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Deputy Federal Premier Jaromir Obzina today continued his official visit to Britain. Our correspondent Zdenek Vilimek reports:

[Vilimek] Comrade Jaromir Obzina today met British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. The two representatives assessed the current development of bilateral relations and evaluated the possibilities of their total development, particularly in the area of economic cooperation which, so far, is not in harmony with the possibilities of the two countries.

Jaromir Obzina and Geoffrey Howe assessed trends in the current world developments positively, particularly in East-West relations. They also paid attention to some humanitarian issues.

Deputy Federal Premier Jaromir Obzina also met today with Lord Young, cabinet member and state secretary for trade and industry, and Trade Minister Alan Clark. In an open exchange of views they discussed some specific issues of possible cooperation between the two countries in machine building and chemistry, with emphasis on the development of higher forms of cooperation, in particular the foundation of joint enterprises and mutual cooperation on third markets. They agreed that the conclusion of a bilateral agreement on removing double taxation and on the protection of investments would help to deepen mutual trade and economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Britain.

Comrade Jaromir Obzina then met prominent representatives of British economic and industrial circles and visited the world renown company Wellcome which cooperates with Czechoslovakia in the production of medicaments and medical equipment.

Trade Minister Visit to Albania Reviewed

LD1002234489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1200 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Our special crew headed by editor Milan Adamek returned from the Albanian capital of Tirana 2 hours ago. Here is his report:

[Begin Adamek recording] An important meeting took place today at 1100 in the building of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist republic of Albania in Tirana. Albania has been visited for the first time in 30 years by a Czechoslovak minister. One hour after his arrival he was received by the Albanian Premier Adil Carcani. The meeting with our Minister of Foreign trade Jan Sterba, which was originally scheduled to last only a few minutes, lasted an hour and a half, and all indications are that Albania has decided to open up its economy to greater cooperation with other countries.

The main task of our minister's visit was to sign a protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between our two countries for 1989. [passage omitted] In about a month, three more groups of Czechoslovak experts will fly to Tirana to seek specific possibilities for us to invest in the Albanian raw materials processing industry. [end recording]

According to news brought back by Milan Adamek, the possibility is reportedly taking shape that the Czechoslovak charge d'affaires in Tirana might soon be replaced by an ambassador from our country.

Minister Comments on Restructuring of Prices

AU1402154189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Jaromir Zak, minister-chairman of the Federal Price Office, by Vaclav Marek: "Instrument Toward an Efficient Economy"; date, place not given]

[Text] At the close of 1988, the federal government discussed the results of the comprehensive restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices. These new prices went into force on 1 January. What will be the specific impact of this restructuring on the economic practice? This was the topic of our interview with Jaromir Zak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office.

[Marek] Why was the comprehensive restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices necessary, and what aim did it pursue?

[Zak] The fact that wholesale and procurement prices remained unchanged for a long time gradually weakened their economic functions considerably. The preceeding price system was increasingly losing its effectiveness and did not conform to the requirements of the new economic mechanism now being prepared.

It was necessary to make prices match as much as possible the inevitable costs, to make them a genuine and fair measure for evaluating the actual results of enterprises, to prevent them from covering up poor economic performance, and, quite the reverse, to make sure that by uncovering low levels of labor productivity and mismanagement, prices will bring greater pressure to bear on the growth of production efficiency. Prices that distort actual production costs also provide poor guidance for decisions on the development and modernization of production, deform demand and consumption, and so forth, and therefore become one of the major factors that slow down economic intensification.

The restructuring of prices is the first step toward making every enterprise start working with undistorted prices and toward enabling it to realistically calculate what it can spend on purchases and at which costs, in what quality, and at which technical level it must produce for the customer to be willing to pay the price it asks for.

[Marek] Have the prices of raw and processed materials moved closer to world prices?

[Zak] First and foremost, the wholesale and procurement prices of imported and domestic raw materials have been changed to the level projected for their procurement in the year in which the new prices would go into effect, that is, to the level of the year 1989. In accordance with development trends in the world, the wholesale prices of a large number of commodities declined; this holds true, for example, for raw materials for the metallurgical, chemical, rubber, electrical engineering, and metalworking industries. On the other hand, the prices of some raw materials went up. This applies, for instance, to timber, wool, cattle hides, agricultural raw materials, and so forth.

In contrast to former practices, we will neither inordinately subsidize the procurement of domestic and imported raw materials nor shall we make it artificially more expensive so as to use the resources thus obtained to cover the losses or needs of enterprises with low production efficiency. The basic prerequisites have thereby been created for enterprises to be interested in the most efficient procurement of raw materials, in their economical use, and in adding maximum value to them.

New criteria have been applied with respect to the ratio between the prices of raw materials and finished products. For example, if the trend in the world goes in the direction of mass application of synthetic materials, refined materials, maximization of natural materials, and giving preference to the use of crude oil for chemical and other industries over its use as a fuel, then Czechoslovak prices cannot express the opposite trend.

[Marek] What changes have occurred in the calculated profit that is built into the new prices?

[Zak] In contrast to previous restructurings of wholesale and procurement prices, when a differentiated measure of profit was fixed for individual branches, essentially according to their long-term development needs, in the new prices we have applied the principle of a uniform measure of profit—4.5 percent from production assets. This is a change of principle. It implies that for each Kcs100 worth of machinery, equipment, other fixed assets, and inventories with which the enterprise operates, it should gain a profit of Kcs4.50 when selling its output. However, this will only hold true if the enterprise operates at the level of average production costs in the relevant sector arising from the tasks of the 1989 plan as fixed in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The attainment of this measure of profit is the basic prerequisite for the state enterprise to be able to fully meet its commitments toward its work force and toward society.

[Marek] Why is such a low measure of profit built into the prices? A number of enterprises will have difficulties with self-financing and will operate at a loss.

[Zak] The measure of profit has indeed been lowered compared with the previous practice. However, the criticism of and polemics about the level of profit hide many interests, simplifications, ignorance of the depth of problems, but also ignorance of the truth. The level of profit has not been fixed haphazardly or according to subjective wishes.

The basic measure of profit and, hence, the level of profit which society guarantees in prices have been derived from the average measure of accumulation in the economy planned over the long term. This level of profit thus defrays the expenditures of organizations on investments, social development, credit interest rates, and so forth. It establishes a more realistic scope for the rational functioning of the financial-credit system and the system of material incentives provided for by the new economic mechanism.

Building into the manufacturers' new prices a higher profit, while leaving the prerequisites unchanged, would mean softening the conditions for enterprise operations by means of price increases. This, apart from lowering pressure on production efficiency, would trigger higher costs and prices for all customers. In view of the fact that the changes in wholesale and procurement prices have not been projected into retail prices, this would lead to a further growth in subsidies to retail prices and the prices of services.

[Marek] Why do, under the current conditions, neither suppliers nor customers object to higher wholesale and procurement prices, in fact?

[Zak] In simplified terms, this is primarily because the effects of price changes are fully offset in the supplier's and customer's plan. The state has approved for the supplier a higher price with a higher profit, but the indicators of the plan that are connected with this change

in profit are adjusted as well, including indicators linked with material incentives and planned investment needs. The customer does not complain either; the higher level of costs is taken account of in his plan. These higher costs are either projected into a higher price of his products or into an adjustment of all indicators of the plan tied to the changed level of costs and profit. As a result of the change [in wholesale prices], neither suppliers nor customers can spend more on investments, inventories or special compensations. Such changes are essentially possible only under the condition of changes in indicators of the plan, and not in prices. In practice, both these factors are combined as a rule. However, society can never distribute more resources than it generates. This applies to the distribution of goods and, if an inflationary spiral is to be avoided, also to the distribution of money.

[Marek] The lower measure of profit will make access to money harder for enterprises. This will certainly limit their investment plans.

[Zak] To be more precise, it will put these plans on a more realistic footing. The role of money is degraded in conditions of a shortage of goods and a surplus of money. Above all, [if profit levels were higher] enterprises would have no guarantee that they will get for their money machinery, materials, and other needed goods.

Society cannot afford to sanction for every manufacturer a price that covers his needs, his individual costs, plus a profit that he needs to ensure the development of the enterprise and the social development of the work force. It also cannot give the customer a guarantee that he will have enough money to pay for everything he needs or demands. Where are we supposed to take the goods to meet these needs and to cover the money spent according to the enterprises' whim? While criticizing the new prices, enterprises usually fail to provide an answer to these questions, assuming that it is up to the center, rather than up to themselves, to cope with the economic impact of the new wholesale and procurement prices on state enterprises. So far, as long as the state plan remains in force, this is really the case to a large extent. However, once the principles of the new economic mechanism become fully operative, this will no longer be true. The notion that through higher prices it is possible "to help everyone," enterprises that do well and poorly alike, is mistaken. This would be equivalent to depreciating the koruna. When the amount of goods remains unchanged, printing more money is the only way of coping with higher prices. This, however, would mean taking the inflationary path of putting money into circulation to cover the growth in prices and profits. This path, which would in the final analysis, sooner or later, affect the population is unacceptable for all of us. This is not the path on which we want to set out. The prosperity and well-being of society cannot be ensured by way of inflation, but by performance growth and intensification of the economy.

One cannot treat prices arbitrarily, according to one's subjective wishes, no matter how well-meant they may be. The inflationary spiral can be sent spinning very rapidly, which could ultimately thwart the intentions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. We must not permit this to happen. At the same time we must beware of losing the battle with time, which inexorably requires that changes in economic performance be achieved soon. Prices must reproduce themselves [musi se reprodukovat] as an objective criterion, so that it is possible to objectively calculate costs and returns on their basis and, thereby, to make entrepreneurial decisions.

This is why we are more realistically building into prices both costs and profit and are setting out on the thorny and difficult path of harmonizing money with high-quality, usable, and efficient production assets and consumer goods, production assets and consumer goods that must be produced cost-effectively and that must be capable of satisfying domestic and foreign needs. This is the centerpiece of the transition from extensive to intensive economy and of the anti-inflationary orientation of the new prices.

[Marek] A number of theorists recommend that we use foreign prices as the basis for domestic prices. Why do world prices not apply fully to us?

[Zak] For many practitioners and theorists, world prices have become a magic formula that has the power to resolve everything. Especially all those manufacturers calling for world prices who see in them an argument in favor of raising prices. Those manufacturers, for whom the application of world prices would require a decline in costs, keep silent about them.

The aim of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the sphere of prices is to use in the existing economic conditions in which our national economy operates all those aspects of world prices that can positively influence our progress. However, we cannot permit such a "use" of world prices as would lead to inflation, chaos, and destabilization of the economy.

The restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices entails a quite perceptible limitation of the central adjustment of the prices of imported materials, including some raw materials. To be specific: The prices at which we effect purchases abroad will, following their conversion set by the exchange rate, stage by stage and to a steadily increasing extent directly influence the operations of our manufacturers and, thereby, also the meeting of consumers' needs. At the same time, in the spirit of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, we strive to achieve that conditions for it exist or will yet be created, the wholesale prices of new products are derived from price ratios abroad or from the price fetched abroad, regardless of the manufacturers' individual costs. Foreign prices are also being used in determining preferential markups and penalty markdowns.

However, the general application of the influence of foreign prices on our wholesale prices at the same time requires, and this is particularly important, the implementation of substantive measures in the production sphere, that is, the enforcement of a selective structural policy aimed at the attainment of the world level of labor productivity in our economy. Without safeguarding this key prerequisite, the indiscriminate and mechanical application of the influence of foreign prices on our internal prices would represent merely an administrative act, which, given the existing conditions, would markedly increase the volume of redistributed resources and raise the number of loss sustaining organizations and, possibly, entire branches, without offering the possibility to secure the needed scarce production. This would disrupt the functioning of the basic principles of the new economic mechanism.

[Marek] What will be the specific impact of prices on the self-financing of organizations? How many of them will be unable to finance their needs and what will be done in these cases?

[Zak] Under the conditions of self-financing, prices are undergoing a qualitative change of principle. As the role of the generation of resources by enterprises increases, prices, as an income-forming factor, are moving into the focus of attention not only of the management, but of the workforce as well. Quite naturally, the pressure on price increases also grows. It is therefore essential that—in the current conditions of economic imbalance, monopolization of production, and consumption, and shortages of all kinds, particularly of freely convertible currency—the development of prices be subjected to rigid state control. Prices can be set free only gradually, according to set rules, and in areas where the appropriate conditions will be created for it. As I have already said, the entire new economic mechanism would be deprived of its effectiveness if the price system were set into inordinate motion.

The impact of the new prices on individual enterprises will vary. There will, inevitably, be organizations that will achieve a higher profit level than was reckoned with in the restructuring of prices, chiefly because they operate with lower production costs than those that served as a basis in determining the prices of their production. There will be many organizations which, for various reasons, will have higher costs or will even operate at a loss. The differentials between organizations' profit levels will be further widened in accordance with import results or in accordance with the scale of the introduction of sophisticated products, to which it is possible to add contractually agreed markups, negotiated with one's customers. It is impossible to reply how many or which organizations will have problems with self-financing because neither the results of the conversion of the 1988 plan to the new prices nor the actual economic results according to the new prices are yet known. According to preliminary estimates, however, this will concern scores of organizations, in which it will be necessary to adopt consolidation measures to eliminate losses or low production efficiency.

In its resolution No. 339/88 on the introduction of new prices into the economic practice, the CSSR Government ruled that this year, in which the tasks of the 5-year plan apply to the full extent, problems connected with the financial consequences of the restructuring of prices would be solved by means of non-price measures, that is, by deductions from the levies and taxes paid to the state budget, by state allocations, and the like. It is important, however, that all enterprises that will run into financial difficulties this year realize that with the introduction of the principles of the new economic mechanism into practical life [at the beginning of 1990] this automatic covering of their financial needs will cease. In the course of this year they should do their utmost to avoid unpleasant surprises that may set in as a result of the application of the principle of full-fledged economic accountability and self-financing as of 1 January 1990.

[Marek] Readers continue to ask us whether there will not be any changes in retail prices in connection with the restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices.

[Zak] It needs to be frankly said that we analyze long-term trends and the present state of retail prices. The conclusions from this analysis will be submitted to the CSSR Government for discussions and we will also familiarize our public with them. In the spirit of the CSSR Government's policy statement, we want to ensure extensive access to information and, by the same token, public control of retail prices, ensure the right of every citizen to assess to what degree the use of national resources for retail price subsidies conforms with the principle of social justice, and also ensure the right to express his opinion on this issue. At the same time I would like to stress that we are preparing measures to tighten price discipline and to improve the protection of consumers against breach of the terms under which retail prices were fixed.

[Marek] Thank you for the interview.

Planned Changes in CSSR Railroads Outlined

AU0902111389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Feb 89 p 1

[Pavel Paral report: "On Restructuring the Railroads"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)— A political-economic aktiv of railroad transportation staff was held in Prague on Saturday [4 February] to assess ways of implementing the conclusions of the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the course of restructuring, and the fulfillment of the tasks of 1989. [passage omitted]

Because in the future the railroads will continue to handle 70 percent of freight traffic and 30 percent of passenger traffic, it is highly important to safeguard the material conditions for their development. A major role in this process will be played by the Concept for the Development of Railroad Transportation, which the CSSR Government approved a few days ago. The government approved not

only the modernization of present capacities, it also approved the starting of work on preparations for the construction of high-speed railroad lines. After the year 2000, they should connect all important economic and industrial centers and link up with the European high-speed rail network. [passage omitted]

The realization of the concept will be very costly, requiring expenditures of almost Kcs300 billion. The speed of its implementation will therefore depend primarily on the generation of resources in the national economy. The project design for high-speed rail links will be submitted to the government in 1991.

The validity of the legal foundation of the present organizational setup of the Czechoslovak State Railroads [CSD] expires at the end of June this year. At the same time, the law on state enterprises cannot apply to the CSD, because of a number of specific features of railroad transportation, such as the need for major state intervention, limited scope for entrepreneurial activity, and, above all, the inability to apply self-financing. The government had therefore decided to expeditiously draft a bill on the CSD, which has already been passed on to the central agencies and railroad transportation management bodies for assessment. [passage omitted]

On the basis of the law on the CSD as proposed by the ministry, the current 32 legal entities should be merged to form a new state organization, the CSD, with a workforce of 235,000. The law will also define the economic and legal status of organizational units.

The existing organizational structure no longer meets the needs of development. The proposal for organizational restructuring provides for the replacement of the current four tiers of management by three. What are now two tiers of management, railroad administrations and operational divisions, should be merged to form a single tier—regional directorates in Prague, Plzen, Olomouc, Bratislava, Kosice, Brno, and Usti nad Labem.

The aktiv of railroad transportation staff was attended by Karel Erbes, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

Leaders' Appearances for 26 Jan-1 Feb Noted

AU0302123689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, and Bratislava SMENA in Slovak from 27 January to 2 February report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec departed from the airport in Prague for Iran on 29 January; present at the airport were Jaromir Johanes and Milan Vaclavik and other government officials. (SMENA 30 January p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Jan Fojtik, Gustav Husak, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek, welcomed Wojciech Jaruzelski and his entourage on their arrival in the CSSR for a working visit, in Prague on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Frantisek Hanus, Gustav Husak, Jozef Lenart, and Karel Urbanek, bade farewell to Wojciech Jaruzelski and his entourage at the airport at the end of their working visit to the CSSR, in Prague on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 2)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ CC general secretary, received Masud Ali Khan, chief editor of the Indian Communist Party weekly the NEW AGE, in Prague on 31 January. (RUDE PRAVO 1 February p 1)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC, chaired a CC session on the preparation of new statutes and later attended a statewide consultative meeting on annual members' meetings, in Prague on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ CC Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL CC, received Dzamsrangina Dulma (name as published), the Mongolian ambassador to the CSSR, in Bratislava on 30 January. (PRAVDA 31 January p 1) He received Kamil Brodziansky, chairman of the Slovak Freedom Party, in Bratislava on 30 January. (RUDE PRAVO 31 January p 2) He visited enterprises in the Trnava District on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ CC Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, attended a ceremony in Gbely, raising the community's status to a town, on 30 January. (RUDE PRAVO 31 January p 2) He met with Ivan Gonko, the Slovak trade union chief, to discuss the state plan for 1989, in Bratislava on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC, attended a reception given by Bhaupatray Oza, Indian ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 26 January. (RUDE PRAVO 27 January p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ CC Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended a plenary meeting of a municipal district committee in Prague, on 25 January. (VECERNI PRAHA 26 January p 2) He attended a working meeting with functionaries of another municipal district committee in Prague, on 29 January. (VECERNI PRAHA 30 January p 1) He attended the ceremonial opening of a reconstructed hotel, the Belvedere, in Prague on 30 January. (RUDE PRAVO 31 January p 2) He attended the opening of a new urology clinic in Prague on 31 January. (RUDE PRAVO 1 February p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ CC Central Committee member, chairman of the Czech SR Committee for Party Work, and chairman of the Czech SR National Front CC, attended a session of the Czechoslovak scientific-technical society in Prague on 31 January. (RUDE PRAVO 1 February p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ CC, chaired a CPCZ committee session for science and technology in Prague on 30 January. (RUDE PRAVO 31 January p 2) He paid a working visit to Slusovice and other enterprises in southern Moravia on 31 January. (PRAVDA 1 February p 2) He was present at the first public presentation of a new Czechoslovak aircraft, the L-610, in Uherske Hradiste on 1 February. (RUDE PRAVO 2 February p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister for national defense, presented the Order of the Red Banner to Lieutenant General Josef Marusak, chief of the CSSR civil defense, on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 27 January. (RUDE PRAVO 28 January p 2)

Appearances for 2-8 Feb

AU1002125789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 3 to 9 February report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

A national conference of party committee chairmen in state enterprises, held in Prague on 7 February, was attended by Frantisek Hanus and Jozef Lenart. (PRAVDA 8 Feb 89 pp 1,2)

Guenther Jahn, visiting first secretary of the Potsdam SED Regional Committee, was received by Josef Haman and Karel Hoffmann in Prague on 2 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, attended a statewide consultation of leading secretaries of the party regional committees and of the Prague and Bratislava city committees, in Prague on 6 February. (PRAVDA 7 Feb 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ CC Presidium member and Czech premier, received Vratislav Vajnar in connection with the latter's taking up his post as CSSR ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva, in Prague on 6 February. (PRAVDA 7 Feb 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Deputy Zdenek Ceska on the occasion of his 60th birthday, in Prague on 6 February. (PRAVDA 7 Feb 89 p 1) He received Vratislav Vajnar, the new CSSR ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva, in connection with his assuming his post, in Prague on 7 February. (PRAVDA 8 Feb 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak. CPCZ CC Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL CC, presented to Margita Klimesova, CPCZ CC member and Hero of Socialist Labor, a letter from Milos Jakes, CPCZ CC general secretary, congratulating her on her birthday, in Bratislava on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2) He received Vladimir Stadnichenko, chief editor of RADYANSKA UKRAINA, in Bratislava on 7 February. (PRAVDA 8 Feb 89 p 1)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ CC Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, attended a meeting of members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences from the South Moravian region, in Brno on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2) He received participants in a session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Engineering in Brno on 7 February. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Feb 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, attended and addressed an aktiv of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in Prague on 7 February. (PRAVDA 8 Feb 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ CC Presidium member, attended and addressed the ninth plenary session of the Slovak Trade Union Council in Bratislava on 8 February. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended and addressed a meeting of representatives of the "Prague cultural front" with leading Prague officials on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 1) He attended the opening of an exhibition of paintings in Prague on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2) He received a delegation of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee in Prague on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2) Stepan received a delegation from the Ulaanbaatar City Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, in Prague on 7 February. (PRAVDA 8 Feb 89 p 2) He received visiting Soviet writer Julian Semyonov in Prague on 8 February. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ CC, received DPRK Ambassador Kim Kwang-sop in Prague on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89

p 2) He received U.S. Ambassador Julian Niemczyk "at the latter's own request" in Prague on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, attended a political aktiv of the Stand-By Regiment of the Prague Public Security Corps on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 1)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ CC Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (URO), attended and addressed the seventh URO plenary meeting in Prague on 2 February. (PRACE 3 Feb 89 pp 1,2) He attended a regional aktiv of trade union officials in Ostrava on 8 February. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Afghan Ambassador Abdul Baqi Samadari "to discuss some issues pertaining to mutual Czechoslovak-Afghan relations," in Prague on 2 February. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb 89 p 2) He was present when CSSR President Gustav Husak accepted credentials from the new Maltese, Burundi, and Zambian ambassadors at Prague Castle on 8 February. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb 89 p 1)

GDR Monitoring of Soviet Agents Reported

AU1402124689 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 12 Feb 89 p 112

[Report by Richard Voelkel: "Between Red Brothers... Honecker Orders Eavesdropping on Gorby's Soldiers"]

[Text] According to information received by BILD AM SONNTAG, bugging specialists from the East Berlin Ministry of State Security monitor the Main Intelligence Directorate of the Red Army (GRU) in East Berlin. Not far from the Karlshorst race course, from a dark-colored small truck they aim their microphones 24 hours a day at some 80 Soviet intelligence officers who transmit secret messages to Moscow from a 10-story block of apartments.

The East Berlin GRU center gathers important information: on defectors among the almost 400,000 Red Army soldiers stationed in the GDR, on rapes, fights, and black market deals with local residents.

Some of the Soviet GRU agents cross Checkpoint Charlie to West Berlin in uniforms, pretending to be a military patrol (which they are allowed to do, according to their status under the Quadripartite Agreement). Their findings are transmitted to Moscow—and monitored by the GDR intelligence service.

Said a Western intelligence service man in a statement to BILD AM SONNTAG: We have been aware for a long time that cooperation between the Soviets and the GDR is not very good in the field of the intelligence services. Nationalists within the Ministry of State Security refer to it as a one-way street toward Moscow. Since the SED leadership harshly rejects Gorbachev's policy, the SED Politburo, headed by Erich Honecker, increasingly has to rely on information on Moscow's course.

Schabowski Holds Talks With Soviet Official

AU1402175189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Feb 89 p 8

[Text] On Thursday [9 February] Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the SED Berlin Bezirk leadership, received Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Lenin Komsomol, for a talk. Guenter Schabowski paid tribute to the traditional friendly relations between the youth organizations of Berlin and Moscow, which are an integral part of the fraternal ties between the GDR and the USSR.

On the same day, Guenter Schabowski met with a delegation of the Moscow City Party Committee, headed by Vladimir Chernyshev, director of the State and Law Department. He briefed the guests on results and tasks in developing socialist democracy in the GDR and the preparation of the municipal elections on 7 May 1989.

Bonn's KOLAS Missile Project Criticized

AU1402172389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Feb 89 p 2

[W.M. commentary: "Dangerous Yes-And-No Answer From Bonn"]

[Text] One can melt the following official message by Bonn's government spokesman in one's mouth: Together with the responsible minister, the chancellor decided to temporarily suspend the KOLAS missile project, but to finally abandon it only if a balance on a lower level is agreed upon in the Vienna talks. Thus, the question whether the FRG will get itself a first-strike system with a range of about 500 km that can be fitted with both conventional and nuclear warheads, has officially been answered with yes and no.

The decision, which was made rapidly by Bonn standards, first of all shows that some people feel that they have been caught redhanded, which is also reflected in almost the entire FRG press. It shows that the outcry, which this provocation of the Vienna talks has caused in the FRG and also in other countries, was certainly heard. It looks as if some people in Bonn are beginning to realize now that, apart from its military function, the KOLAS project is also suited to increase the currently two-thirds of missile opponents in the FRG to three-quarters or even nine-tenths. Maybe people will ultimately become more sensitive in this respect and realize that those, who push such a project that increases the arms buildup, will be regarded as the severest disarmament opponents in the eyes of all those, who really want to achieve peace. KOLAS has certainly proved to be no trump card for Kohl.

However, Bonn's yes-and-no answer has yet another, very dangerous, aspect: The project, for which a total of DM100 million have already been wasted, is not abandoned. On the contrary, the official declaration notes that its fundamental technological feasibility has been proved and that an option on this project will be maintained up to a certain stage in the Vienna talks. Put bluntly: The FRG missiles, which can be used in two ways, are to be introduced as an element of blackmail in the talks on conventional forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. While we have already made advance concessions for successful talks in Vienna in the form of unilateral disarmament steps, the FRG threatens with a new arms buildup project. In practical terms this means: to cause discord with more weapons.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE pointed out a further connection: The KOLAS missiles are the follow-up system of the Pershing 1A, on which Bonn agreed in October 1987. However, in August 1987, the chancellor announced, as the FRG's contribution to the INF Treaty, that the Pershing 1A missiles would not be modernized but dismantled.

What exactly is Europe and what is the world to think about the words and deeds of the government of Western Europe's strongest military power?

Daily Comments on U.S. Chemical Weapons in FRG

AU1402170089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Geneva Disarmament Conference, Chemical Weapons, and Bonn"]

[Text] The UN Disarmament Conference in Geneva has the global banning of chemical weapons on its agenda. This body, consisting of 40 states, has received new impetus from the chemical weapons conference in Paris, in which 149 states participated. The peoples also want these insiduous agents of mass destruction to be eliminated from the earth. For although the convention has already been largely developed and the 40 states in Geneva have reached a consensus on it, there is no telling when it will be concluded. The Geneva observer from the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU calls the United States an inhibitor. Its chemical industry has intimated that foreign inspectors are not wanted on its facilities. There are frequent objections as regards industrial espionage, it is stated.

However, it is clear that a ban on chemical weapons does not work without verification. It is clear that transparency in the production, storage, and deployment of chemical as well as nuclear and conventional weapons is unavoidable. The "Responsibility for Peace" initiative of natural scientists states with concern: "Except for the fact that they exist, there is hardly any official data on U.S. chemical weapons arsenals in the FRG. All the successive federal governments have always refused to provide more detailed information." The British expert Robinson estimates the United States' chemical ammunition in the FRG at approximately 6,000 tonnes. This is a great danger, not only for FRG citizens, but also for the whole of densely populated central Europe.

Thus, the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone which, as the GDR and the CSSR proposed to the FRG, should for the time being be established on the territories of the three countries, is very topical. From the point of view of the states and peoples and their security interests, there is not a single argument against such a zone as a step toward a chemical-weapon-free world. An additional argument for it is the opportunity to gather practical experiences by verification; for the project, which has been developed together with the SPD, of course contains exact definitions to this effect.

In view of the situation in Geneva, the appearance of the FRG representative, which is planned for this week, will be especially interesting. All the more so as, at the same time, FRG citizens are standing trial in Pirmasens because they demonstrated against the storage of U.S. chemical weapons in their country. It is now hardly possible to take into account the people's vital interest solely by further generally professing a worldwide ban. A clear, concrete position is required from the FRG toward those who have crammed the FRG with chemical weapons but are stalling in Geneva, and toward those who hold out their hands to Bonn to create a chemical weapon-free zone in central Europe.

'Conflicts' With Foreign Workers Acknowledged

AU1402141489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Feb 89 p 4

["Rt" report: "Conflicts With Guest Workers in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 February—The GDR has admitted for the first time that it has difficulties with foreign workers who are employed in the country's industry. SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG stated in reply to an inquiry by one of its readers that coexistence and cooperation with this group involves problems. Sometimes "conflicts" do occur. Recent verdicts passed by courts in connection with attacks by GDR citizens on guest workers, involving primarily non-whites, also testify to this. The district court of Riesa, for example, convicted a man who had thrown a worker from Mozambique from a train.

According to political observers, the difficulties between German and foreign workers that are apparently increasing result from restrictive residence regulations. For female workers from Vietnam, for example, special rules governing the "procedure in cases of pregnancy" were stipulated in January between East Berlin and Hanoi. The agreement contains the statement that pregnancy and motherhood lead to such a fundamental change in the personal situation of the working woman concerned that this is incompatible with the requirements of temporary employment. Vietnamese women "who do not make use of the possibility of terminating the pregnancy return to their country on the stipulated date after their fitness for travel has been confirmed by a physician."

Currently, a total of 85,000 foreigners are working in over 800 enterprises in the GDR. The majority of them are Vietnamese. Some 14,000 of them are from Mozambique; 10,000 from Cuba; 6,500 from Poland; 1,000 from Angola; and 900 from the PRC. The duration of stay of these workers, who are usually accommodated in barracks, is limited to 5 years. Family members are not allow to join them in the GDR. Since the year 1966, a total of 200,000 foreign workers have worked in the GDR under these conditions.

'Alternative Military Service' Proposed

LD1402223589 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—On Tuesday, senior oficials of the Ministry of Defence and the State Wages and Manpower Office informed the press on the discharge and admission of national servicemen in February, and the introduction of alternative military service.

Colonel General Lajos Morocz, state secretary of defence and chief of the training division in the Hungarian People's Army, said that on February 15, 27,500 young men will have completed their national service. To maintain military preparedness, a further 1,000 soldiers will only return to civil life after new admissions have received basic training. Mr Morocz said that some 800 servicemen attended primary schools, and almost 200 secondary schools or institutes of higher education.

Concerning the anxieties of servicemen being discharged regarding employment, Mr Morocz asked for the maximum support of employers. Discharged servicemen receive a lump sum of 1,500 to 3,000 forints.

Late February, 28,500 young people will be drafted for military service. The troops cut, announced recently, will only have an impact on the number of admissions in August.

If parliament approves the amendment to the Defence Act, conscientious objectors will be able to apply for an alternative military service in the second half of 1989. Applicants will be subject to examination by a committee.

People who object to armed military service for reasons of conscience can ask to be detailed for non-armed service or civilian service. Non-armed service includes 24 months in the Army when the servicemen do not handle weapons but work, for example, on construction sites, and a further 12 months in non-armed reserve. Civilian service is 36 months work at places appointed by the state office for wages and labour.

At present 73 people are serving a prison term for refusal of military service. Further investigation of three cases has been postponed. The criminal record of former objectors is expected to be erased after the enactment of the new defence act.

Szuros on Implementing Multiparty System

LD1402225489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] At the MSZMP headquarters the communist faction of National Assembly deputies met this morning. They heard a report about the concept for the new constitution and the draft strike law, which goes together with the amendment of the Labor Code.

Eva Soos spoke to Matyas Szuros, Central Committee secretary and leader of the group of deputies, this morning.

[Begin recording] [Soos] Can the new standpoint of the MSZMP Central Committee change the behavior and attitude of the communist deputies?

[Szuros] It can. The deputies will have to make a determined stand in this process to increase the legitimacy of the National Assembly in its present makeup. It would not be right to question this, for this is connected with the country's entire internal political situation. We have to politicize in a way that we do not question the country's stability, rather we should contribute to maintaining it. This is one thing.

The other is that naturally it must be taken into account that now, the party Central Committee at its last session—which is being evaluated more and more as being of historic significance—unequivocally formulated its standpoint as to how it envisions the transition to representational democracy which, in all probability will be realized within the framework of a multiparty system. Therefore, we have to start thinking about the 1990 National Assembly elections, about the situation then, also dealing with the concept for the new constitution. [Word indistinct] even a situation of competition between various parties could also develop. So, we are envisioning even the transitional period on a pluralist, interest-articulation basis. All the same, for our part at least, this is for the most part the idea of consensus and a certain competitive situation would develop after 1995. [end recording]

Grosz Departs for Visit to Prague 15 Feb

LD1502092589 Budapest MTI in English 0745 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—On Wednesday morning, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, left for Prague for a friendly working meeting at the invitation of the Central Committee Party of Czechoslovakia. Accompanying him is Geza Kotai, member of the HSWP Central Committee and director of the CC International Party Relations Department.

Nemeth Receives CSSR Committee Official

LD0702111789 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, met Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy president of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, president of the Czech side of the Hungarian- Czechoslovak Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, in the parliament on Tuesday.

Hungarian co-president of the committee, Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, also participated at the discussion held in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

Nemeth, Pozsgay Meet With CSSR's Lucan

LD0802182189 Budapest MTI in English
1733 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Matej Lucan, first deputy chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in Hungary for the inauguration ceremony of the new headquarters of the Czechoslovak Cultural and Information Centre in Budapest.

Mr Lucan also met Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. The talks were attended by Vlastimil Ehrenberger, Czechoslovak ambassador to Hungary.

Prague Radio on Talks

LD0802223189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2030 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Deputy Federal Premier Matej Lucan had talks in Budapest today with Miklos Nemeth, premier of the Council of Ministers. they primarily discussed further opportunities for mutual cooperation in the new conditions of social and economic restructuring. As head of the governmental delegation, matej Lucan took part in the opening of our new cultural and information center in Budapest.

Leaders Receive Gorbachev Message on Armenia Aid

LD1302182289 Budapest MTI in English
1704 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the Supreme Soviet, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, sending a telegram to Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, expressed thanks to the Hungarian people for the sympathy expressed and assistance provided to the earthquake-ridden Soviet Armenia. The telegram runs: 'We are grateful to all Hungarian workers, the staff of companies and institutions for their assurance to the Armenian people in their time of need of solidarity and assistance. The Soviet people highly appreciate the manifestations of this support.'

Straub Receives ROK Opposition Party Delegation

LD1402223489 Budapest MTI in English
1218 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—A delegation from the opposition Peace and Democracy Party of the Republic of Korea, under its president Mr Kim Tae-jong, met Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, in Budapest's parliament building on Tuesday.

The members of the delegation are on a private visit to Hungary.

Transport Minister, Delegation Visit Moscow

AU1002122889 Budapest MTI in English
1717 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 08/02/1989—The Hungarian delegation which visited Moscow under the leadership of Andras Derzsi, minister of transport, telecommunications and construction, returned to Budapest on Wednesday. The delegation held talks with the leaders of several Soviet ministries, and representatives of the State Committee for Construction, the State Tourism Office, and other institutions.

The sides surveyed various cooperation possibilities—for instance the involvement of Soviet companies in the construction of Budapest's underground network. They agreed on creating conditions for navigation along inland waterways without reloading, and on Hungarian participation in the construction of hotels and other facilities in the Soviet Union. The sides held talks on the further development of cooperation in air transport, and the ways of surmounting difficulties in railway transportation.

Mr Derzsi and his Soviet partners agreed on the modernization of inter-company links, and held negotiations on the renewal of activities within the CMEA.

Israeli Religious Affairs Minister Visits

LD1202152689 Budapest MTI in English
1505 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—Zvulun Hammer, minister of religious affairs of the state of Israel, arrived for a four-day visit to Budapest late Saturday evening. He is meeting an invitation from State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs.

Foreign Affairs Official on Refugee Issue

AU1002152289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Ferenc Somogyi, head of a main department at the Foreign Ministry, by Gabor Horvath: "A Delegation of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Is Holding Talks in Budapest—The Issue of Hungary Joining the Body Is Also on the Agenda"—date, place not given]

[Text] A 3-member fact-finding delegation of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees arrived in Budapest on 6 February at the invitation of Deputy Interior Minister

Zoltan Gal, chairman of the Interministerial Committee on Romanian Refugees. Ferenc Somogyi gave an interview about the program of the delegation and the significance of this visit.

[Horvath] Who are the members of this delegation and what preceded their visit?

[Somogyi] The delegation is made up of two main department heads and an expert, and their visit is a further step in the contacts that have been maintained since 1988 between the Hungarian official bodies and the UN relevant bodies. In practical terms, these will be the first official talks between this UN body and the relevant Hungarian bodies.

[Horvath] What is the aim of the delegation?

[Somogyi] Their main goal is to gather information and find out the areas and ways of establishing specific cooperation between the Hungarian side and this UN body.

[Horvath] What issues will be included on the agenda of the talks?

[Somogyi] The talks are expected to focus on practical issues of accepting the refugees, helping those who wish to go to another country, and promoting the adjustment of those refugees who wish to remain in Hungary. The talks will include the broad issue of Hungary's intention to join the UN Convention on Refugees.

[Horvath] Whom will the delegation meet?

[Somogyi] The delegation will meet with officials of various bodies represented in the interministerial committee and with representatives of several social organizations that are taking an active part in solving the refugee problem. According to the plans, the delegation will also have an opportunity to talk with refugees.

[Horvath] What can we expect from this visit?

[Somogyi] We can expect nothing more and nothing less than an examination and comparison of existing demands and opportunities. We cannot have any illusions that the United Nations will take it upon itself to solve the problem. The activity of this delegation is only a part of our efforts aimed at solving the entire problem. This is a fact-finding visit, and the delegation will submit its report to the High Commissioner for Refugees, who, in turn, will bring the issue to the Executive Committee. Only this Executive Committee can take specific steps.

New Romanian Restrictions on Hungarian Minority

AU1002190489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Feb 89 p 7

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum newspaper NEWSLETTER reports on new developments concerning the various outrageous news coming from Romania. The Romanian authorities have even banned the Open University lectures. Thus, Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania have lost their last means of maintaining systematic contacts with the Hungarian minority there.

A well-known and shocking procedure is the way the Romanian authorities provide jobs for young graduates. Hungarians are sent to areas inhabited by only Romanians, while Romanians are sent to Hungarian villages and towns with Hungarian inhabitants. A new element has just been added to this procedure. According to the latest news, the distribution centers will also consider the proportion of sexes. For example, young Romanian female graduates are sent to places where young Hungarian male graduates are given jobs and the other way around.

Hungarian Dailies in Romania Praise Systematization

AU1302174689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Otto Oltvanyi: "Local People's Councils in Transylvania Discuss Systematization Plans"]

[Text] The territorial systematization in Romania is now officially on the agenda at the level of people's councils—local bodies of state power. This emerges from various county press reports according to which the county people's councils have held their first meetings this year and have also discussed the territorial systematization.

In its 31 January issue, SZATMARI HIRLAP reports on the meeting of the county people's council and its unanimous approval of the proposals concerning the organization and systematization of villages, the settlement network, and agricultural units.

In another article, the same newspaper reports that the citizens' meeting in Szatmarnemeti took place in a spirit of complete approval of the domestic and foreign policy being conducted by the party and the government. Speakers at the meeting pointed out that the implementation of the proposed measures connected with the organization and systematization of villages and agricultural units would create a favorable framework for intensive development.

The daily HARGITA reports on the agenda of the local county people's council. The first item on this agenda includes the proposals made for territorial and local settlement systematization and for perfecting the organization of agriculture.

The daily FAKLYA reports on the session of the Bihar County People's Council and the county's citizen meetings. Both meetings had the activity of territorial systematization on their agenda.

BANYAVIDEKI FAKLYA reports on the session of the Maramaros county council meeting in which proposals were adopted on modernizing, organizing, and systematizing the villages, the settlement network, and the agricultural units.

VOROS LOBOGO in Arad and SZABAD SZO in Temesvar also carry ample reports on the sessions of the county councils and on the citizens' meetings. A program of action was adopted in both counties on organizing and settling the network of villages, settlements, and agricultural units.

Southern Slavs Federation Holds Meeting 13 Feb

LD1302172489 Budapest MTI in English
1633 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—The southern Slavs, Germans, Romanians and Slovaks living in Hungary feel a sense of responsibility for the future of both the country and the national minorities, said Martin Mandity, general secretary of the Democratic Federation of Southern Slavs in Hungary, at the Budapest session of the federation's national board on Monday. Mr Mandity said that senior officials of the nationality federations had met representatives of the HSWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Patriotic People's Front, and the Ministry of Culture and Education. They expressed concern over the wide gap between the declaration of the rights of the nationalities and enforcement of such nationalities, and termed it an urgent task to specify the affiliation and supervision of federations, and establish a state secretariat for handling the nationality issue comprehensively.

The representatives of the national federations stated they have not been able to implement the resolutions passed at congresses, and that it is important for the nationality federations to have similar scopes and financial conditions as the other social organizations of Hungary and to expand relations between the minorities and the parent countries more autonomously.

The contributors urged wider use of the mother tongue and more fostering of nationality culture. They demanded the establishment of national and regional educational institutions for the minorities, and use of their mother tongue in public life, social celebrations and church ceremonies. Representatives held it necessary to use bilingual inscriptions in their localities, and establish a joint publisher.

Spokesman on Agrarian Policy, Government Program

LD0902211789 Budapest MTI in English
1951 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The priority aim of the 1988 national economic plan was attained since the country improved its external economic balance, said the president of the National Planning Office at the Thursday session of the government. The president of the National Bank of Hungary added that this success should be not overestimated since the 800-million-dollar surplus in hard-currency trade was also due to some favourable world market trends affecting Hungary's major export items, for instance aluminium. [passage omitted]

The government established that Hungary required a new agrarian policy. Discussing a report by Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, the government held it necessary to ease the terms of credits granted for the food economy and—under certain terms—the repayment of debts by farms in the red, and increase grain prices.

The government discussed the role of large-scale farms in agrarian production which was challenged by some representatives of the new social organizations. These farms are invariably required but the internal conditions of operation should be changed in a way that the farm workers should become entrepreneurs rather than wage labourers. Greater emphasis should be laid on the household farms so that they could even more rely on the assistance and integrating role of the large-scale units. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question, the government spokesman said that Miklos Nemeth held it necessary to elaborate a new government programme since the economic and social conditions have changed considerably since the programme of stabilization and advancement was adopted in 1987. The institutional conditions of a socialist market economy are being established and the autonomous interest groups, with which the government should reach an agreement, strengthening. Miklos Nemeth's government seeks to evolve a new style of cooperation and, relying on that, elaborate a new programme. According to Mr Marosan, the outlines of the new programme would be made public next summer.

Asked about the date of making the documents of the Imre Nagy trial public, Mr Marosan said that in the recent period the Ministry of Justice has made intensive efforts to systematize the available documents and explore the so far unknown facts and documents. This work would soon be completed and Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar would provide detailed information, Mr Marosan said.

Research Workers Reject SZOT Welfare Principles

LD0902211189 Budapest MTI in English
1838 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The National Board of the Democratic Trade Union of Research Workers (TDDSZ) is prepared to cooperate with all who consider it timely to enforce a turn, bringing about resolute steps towards economic restructuring. The TDDSZ board calls for rapid improvements in the situation of the poor, and for the elaboration of a real

welfare policy. The solutions and the principles formulated by the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) at the workers' rally in a railway repair unit of Budapest on Tuesday are unacceptable for the TDDSZ and unsuitable for a joint action.

In a statement forwarded to MTI on Thursday, the TDDSZ board holds the position of the SZOT general secretary that the surfacing of differences in political views hinders the required economic changes as unacceptable. The TDDSZ rejects the attack against what was termed as disruptive independent trade unions. It opposes the introduction of a coupon system for the poor instead of increasing the small pensions. According to the TDDSZ board, the SZOT proposals, if realized, would further disrupt the economy rather than solve the problems.

*7 Nov, 4 Apr Holidays Satirized by Weekly

25000097 Budapest LUDAS MATYI in Hungarian 18 Jan 89 p 10

[Article by Laszlo Majlath: "Holiday Reform"]

[Text] "I will convene today's meeting of the Holiday Reform Committee. We are happy to report that one of our proposals has just been implemented. The Parliament with unanimous voice vote has declared 15 March a work-free national holiday. In connection with this, a proposal came from one of the state organs. In the interests of maintaining the working-hour base, they suggest to counterbalance 15 March by eliminating 7 Nov as a work-free day. I request the comments of the committee to this proposal!"

"I do not agree with the proposal," said a small man. "That which the leadership gives with the right hand, it wants to take away with the left. I know that in other socialist countries, for instance in Czechoslovakia, 7 Nov is not a holiday. That's good because I always go to Komorom on that day to do shopping for the family. Last year I went to Vienna, along with tens of thousands of my countrymen, to procure for myself a video with my hard-currency account money. Since 7 November is the holy shopping day of the Hungarian working classes, I oppose its elimination."

"The reasoning is not political enough," said an alternative-looking gentleman. "Why exactly do we Hungarians have to celebrate the national holiday of the Soviet Union!?"

"I accept the question as justified," responded the small man. "We have to demonstate that we are not prejudiced in either direction. I propose we make the anniversary of the French Revolution, 14 July, a work-free holiday. Nor am I opposed to considering the inclusion of the national holidays of America and China. Our country could demonstrate our political openness by doing this." "Other suggestions concerning holiday reform have been submitted to our committee," said the chairman. "For example, some historians have suggested that 4 April is quite insignificant in our history. At the time, our nation really did not take note of this day. The only thing that happened was that the last tiny village was freed. The new democratic Hungary had been established long before 4 April. The birthday of renewed Hungary is really 21 December 1944, when the provisional National Assembly convened in Debrecen. This is the day that should be made a holiday," said the chairman. "I suggest a compromise proposal," said the small man. "For the sake of tradition, let's leave 4 April a work-free day, but let's make 21 December one, too. If we look carefully, in a favorable situation, we could connect this with Christmas. If 21 December were to fall on a Friday, it could be followed by a work-free Saturday. Then would come Sunday, and then Christmas and Boxing Day. What a nice long weekend that would be," dreamed the small man. "The next holiday reform proposal coincides exactly with Christmas and Easter. It is public knowledge that, even though we have not emphasized it particularly in recent years, they are religious holidays. Certain religions take umbridge that their great holidays are not work-free days—for instance, the Jewish new year, or the anniversary of the Reformation.

"Three cheers," yelled the small man. "I support complete equality of religion. Every church and religious sect's special holiday should be a work-free day. We should not make any exceptions. If the committee approves it for our next meeting, I will look into when the Hungarian Mormans and Hungarian Muslims hold their holidays. We depend on them too." "In conclusion, I would like to say that not a single proposal has reached our committee with regard to our national holiday of 20 August." "Of course," said the small man. "The reason for that is that it is the only holiday we have that can be celebrated any way one likes [traditionally St. Stephen's Day, but changed by the Communists to the day of the New Bread and Constitution Day] not to speak of the fact that it is really good to get a break in the middle of the summer holidays."

Defense Ministry Spokesman Responds to Criticism
LD1402204689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, roundtable spokesman representing Solidarity, on 8 February made a statement on ways of improving our economic situation. He said: Regarding immediate moves to be set in motion, we think there should be first and foremost a reduction in the budgets of the Defense and Internal Affairs Ministries, even by 20 percent, and those assets should be transferred to other purposes. In the studio, we have Defense Ministry Spokesman Lieutenant Ireneusz Czyzewski.

[Czyzewski] In connection with this, I would like to make the following statement:

This statement evoked a very critical response among Polish Army soldiers. It must be assessed as incompetent and calculated to get cheap applause. The roundtable spokesman representing Solidarity made a statement on the need to reduce the Defense Ministry budget by 20 percent. This statement is particularly surprising now. During a meeting of the National Defense Committee on 21 November of last year and in the well-known interview by the defense minister there was a discussion of the previously announced and already implemented far-reaching economic measures in the structure and armament of the Polish Armed Forces. The Army receives financial means in accordance with the procedure in force in the state. Within the framework of giving an opinion on the Central Annual Plan, the Socioeconomic Council fulfills the specific function of public control and takes a stance on the entire state budget. The amount spent on defense is also analyzed by the Sejm Defense Commission. It also systematically checks the justification for and rationality of its utilization.

For example, in 1988 deputies five times thoroughly assessed the functioning of the Armed Forces in this very respect. These are tried and tested forms of parliamentary supervision of the country's defense capability.

Beginning in 1987, there was a systematic drop in budget expenditure on national defense. At present, it will be as much as 26 percent less than projected in the 5-year plan. This is at the same time 11 percent less than initially envisioned for this year and 4 percent less than a year ago. This shows that the assets allocated by the Polish Sejm are managed by the Army with a sense of the country's needs and economic principles.

In the past 2 years, a review and certification [atestacja] of posts and the dissolution and reorganization of some units have reduced our Armed Forces by 15,000 soldiers. Four hundred and nineteen tanks have been withdrawn [wycofano], as have 225 armored transport vehicles, 194 aircraft, and also many different types of equipment. Guided by the stance of the National Defense Committee, and in accordance with the January announcement of the defense minister, a considerably more far-reaching reorganization of the Army will take place. In the year 1989-90, it will be decreased by a further several tens of thousands of soldiers [o kolejnych kilkadziesiat tysiecy zolnierzy].

Many types of various technical equipment will be made obsolete or given to the national economy. The quantity of arms puchased is falling. Army training is conducted in an economic manner. Services provided to the national economy will continue on the largest possible scale. The Army does not live above its means and neither do its cadres. The average pay of professional soldiers in December last year was Z73,000. I should emphasize that for most of them, because of the nature and place of their service, only one monthly income makes up the family budget. Compared to other states, we are very thrifty in defense spending. Moreover, the recent decisions concerning unilateral military reductions by the Warsaw Pact member states have not yet met with reciprocal proposals by the NATO countries. However, intentions to increase conventional armaments can be observed on their side.

It is highly irresponsible to omit the above facts from public consideration about our national security. Polish soldiers never have to be encouraged to adopt a civic attitude nor taught about responsibility for the state. In particular, those who have insufficient grounds to do that, should not do it. Mr Onyszkiewicz not so long ago, that is in February 1987, said to the Voice of America:

Economic sanctions are an effective means of pressure and I am, in a sense, grateful for them.

For the same broadcasting station he said in September 1988:

Western credits would be throwing money away, pouring water into a leaking bucket.

Such views not only did not serve Poland, but did Poland harm and their effects still harm it.

To summarize: Making sweeping statements and demands concerning a sphere so important to the nation and the state cannot be reconciled with creating a climate for accord, so much needed today.

[Announcer] Thank you for your visit to our studio.

Rakowski Interviewed on Pluralism, Solidarity
LD1502104289 Warsaw PAP in English 0925 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Paris, Feb 15—The "Antenne 2" French TV channel, in its prime-time news bulletin last night, aired an interview granted by Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to the networks' broadcaster, Herve Claude.

Replying to a question on the changes in Poland's political structures, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated that when it is said that the Communist Party is departing

On the same day, LE FIGARO carried Premier Rakowski's interview granted to the paper's correspondent, Arielle Thedrel.

Replying to a question, Rakowski stated that the condition for "Solidarity's" re-legalization was that such a legalization constitute a guarantee of social peace. Referring to the current situation in Poland, the premier stated that economic issues were the most important. We are prisoners of a tremendous debt. There are also consequences of the policy of restrictions introduced against Poland at the beginning of the eighties, he said.

Rakowski expressed a hope that the meetings with French politicians to take place during his visit would contribute to boosting economic relations between Poland and France. The time has come to restore the level of trade between Poland and France from the sixties and Seventies. After the discussion which I held with President Francois Mitterrand in Bonn, I have the impression that the French side shares my point of view, Rakowski said.

Urban Speaks on Roundtable, Katyn, Pay Disputes

LD1402185689 Warsaw PAP in English
1730 GMT 14 Feb 89

["Government Spokesman's Press Conference (by Anna Gembicka and Janusz Rozdzynski?"—PAP headline]

Government Spokesman's Statement

We are in the midst of breath-taking events. Therefore, I would like to present the government's point of view on what is going on, to somehow set it in order.

First remark. We are experiencing the deepest change of relations in Poland since 1944. This is how history will assess this. The reforms started in 1982, ones stemming from the workers' protest of 1980, have entered a radical phase. Last autumn and early this year, we made a concentrated change of the economic model. A fundamental political reorientation was ripening gradually in the party and the 10th plenum dotted the "i". It has announced that we are heading towards full representative democracy and pluralism with the legal participation of the opposition in political and state life. The roundtable is the result of this breakthrough and its consequence.

We expect our partners at the roundtable to acknowledge these facts and the role of the party and state leadership in their creation. Our partners at the roundtable, those from the opposition, think all too often that what has been accomplished so far without them does not count. They speak so as if almost nothing has come about and taken place in Poland today and as if it was them who at the roundtable initiated the process of Poland's fundamental break away from the model of ruling called post-Stalinist. This hampers partnerly relations with the opposition in agreeing on the further course of events.

Second remark. The roundtable has made the average Pole be deafened by an avalanche of words: speeches, statements, explanations. It is ever more difficult to understand who is speaking, what is being said and what it is about.

Whereas things are as follows:

The authorities have suggested solutions combined into a single package deal. If a frame agreement on cooperation in taking Poland out of economic difficulties and on the gradual character of political changes, including the organization of non-confrontational elections is reached, only then legalized trade union pluralism and expanded political pluralism might fill their constructive role.

Our partners sometimes speak out to the contrary: first legalization of Solidarity and opposition groups and only then a possible agreement on other issues.

We firmly stress: we must do all this simultaneously and in conjunction. Otherwise, a situation similar to that of 1981 would emerge. Without the participation of opposition in political and parliamentary life Solidarity's activity might again become a confrontational political action.

One must draw conclusions from the bad experiences of the past and arrange all this in a wiser way. Thus, struggle for making the agreement a package deal and for its wholesale dimension goes on at the roundtable.

Third remark. In numerous interviews and statements some of our partners at the roundtable address us in the following ways: We want to strangle you but we understand that it cannot be done at once and we are ready to perform the strangling of the socialist left-wing piecemeal. Thanks for frankness, but we propose to change political aims.

Both us and the opposition have a similar view, as regards the direction, on the character of the changes which must be carried out in Poland. Let us therefore speak about the cooperation of all forces which proceed from the premise of radical albeit gradual reforms. We are proposing limited, and to tell the truth full of controversies, alliance for the good of the country. The majority of society does not dream of a prospect of further struggle which would show who would strangle whom in the future.

Already now we are not divided by such contradictions which would compel us to lead to another confrontation anytime in the future.

Fourth remark. We are concerned that we do not hear too many new things from our partners. Also many plans taken from our programs are presented as the opposition's demands. Not a small number of slogans of 1981 resurface, voiced in the style of 1981 at that. Let me frankly state that our partners are proposing programmatic dishes as if taken out from a can with an expired freshness date. Today we are living in another era, socalism is in another stage than in 1981. We are calling upon our partners to move themselves into the realities of 1989.

Fifth and final remark. Stop pressing us against the wall. We forward a program of such sweeping and bold changes and propose such pace that pressing us from all sides may turn out to be an adventurism desroying chances for agreement. To press is an old custom which once ended already in bad results. It is the course of the future of Poland and not only of Poland that is at stake. The sense of historical responsibility should dominate over various resentments and habits of copiers' conspiracy.

And one more small warning. Do not tell us that you represent society. Society is politically diversified, divided. We have also been speaking for years that we represent entire society but now we assess this as one of totalitarian Stalinist diseases and as the manifestation of wishful thinking.

Please, do not take offence that we are instructing you. These are only reflections. You are instructing us. We patiently bear this because it is not the personal ambitions that are most important now.

On Roundtable

I express guarded optimism on the roundtable debates, said Urban giving an answer to suggestions that the attitude of the government after a week of roundtable debates is pessimistic. The spokesman quoted also opinions on the subject, expressed by Lech Walesa and Janusz Reykowski. The opinions were alike.

Rakowsaki in Paris

Although Mieczyslaw Rakowski's Paris visit, starting on Feb 14, is of an unofficial character, it will provide a chance for Polish premier to hold political talks with France's president, premier, foreign minister, leaders of political parties, former president Valery Giscard d'estaing and other prominent political figures. In recent years, the bilateral relations have been rather cool, the spokesman said. One may define them as "unrequited love" of the Polish side. Urban expressed a hope that perhaps the visit will lend new impulses to bilateral relations.

Developments in Afghanistan

How does the Polish Government assess the developments in Afghanistan? Afghan opposition does not respond to the USSR's fulfillment of the Geneva commitments by implementing similar moves, said Urban, emphasizing the difficult conditions of the people there, particularly of Kabul residents. Polish Government's stand is that all the parties in the conflict and all the outside forces should strictly fulfill the commitments of the Geneva agreement. This is in the interest of the Afghans themselves, of all the states in this region and of world peace.

Rakowski Against Relegalization of "Solidarity"

In reply to Janusz Onyszkiewicz's question put earlier and concerning Rakowski's interview for LE MONDE, and particularly the issue of legalization of "Solidarity", Urban said:

The premier is against the relegalization of that union, but he is for establishing a new union under the name of "Solidarity".

Katyn

Some questions concerned Ryszard Wojna's recent article in "RZECZPOSPOLITA" postulating that the report by the Polish side in the joint commission of Polish and Soviet historians on, inter alia, the Katyn crime be presented to the Polish public opinion. We think that investigating into this matter lasts too long, Urban stated. That what Wojna has written is a sign that the Polish society thinks that the course of these issues is "too slow". We hold that it would be useful to publish in Poland this report, which has been presented to the Soviet side, but we want to obtain a consensus and not to take such step one-sidedly.

Political Demands

What does the phrase "pressing us against the wall" mean?—Such a question was asked in regard to the spokesman's introductory statement. In an answer Urban said that he regarded as such, for instance, demands on cutting the budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of National Defence by 20 per cent put forward at the time when the government by itself reduced these expenditures. Hence, it is a motion of a political nature having no significance for the economic situation. It also points to the direction of escalation of demands, the situation we encountered in 1981.

Pay Disputes

Asked about the strikes and work stoppages, Urban stated that the government looked calmly at the pay disputes. Characterizing these events he defined them as purely economic, not political ones.

None of the organized trade union forces and political groups are organizers of strikes and have any influence on their course, said Urban and added that strike committees include trade unionists representing various orientations and organizations as well as people with no links at all. I do not rule out various deeper impulses from outside of plants which can be difficult to detect.

Urban added also that economic dissatisfaction can engulf and ruin the process of finding a political compromise. However, this is a potential danger, said Urban and referred to yesterday's meeting of the government economic committee and additional explanations by Vice-Premier Sekula.

Special Powers Again?

What is the goal of the planned law on special powers for the government in regard to mangers of enterprises and economic units? According to the draft the government is to be granted powers to perform economic experiments, to establish free economic zones, to obligatorily liquidate associations, to limit control only to result inspection, said Urban and added that if the law is passed it will not have disciplinary and repressive nature. It is designed to animate the economy.

On Meat Rationing

A few questions concerned the possibility of a free market of agricultural products and food, including meat. While defining the government objections concerning the free market of foodstuffs, Urban said that the government suggested a gradual method of departing from this situation. In mid-1989 a gradual departure from the rationing of meat and meat products will start if supply allows it. It will be accompanied—according to plans—by compensations for increased prices of these products which is inevitable.

Multiparty System in Hungary

Commenting on the discussion carried in Hungary on the introduction of the many-party system in that state, Urban said that the Hungarian transformations are in many respects similar to these in Poland, but are also in many respects different from them. The situation of both countries differs economically, socially and politically. However, the discussion on the mulitsided system in Hungary is basically analogical to Polish discussions on political pluralism, Urban said.

Two Extremes

Events in Poland happen currently on two extremes: on the one hand there are strike demands for pay rises and on the other—the roundtable, said Urban commenting on a number of suggestions on how to overcome inflation and pay rise. He also recalled that indexation of prices and wages will be one of the subjects of the debate of the roundtable working team for economy. A simple interdependence between these two elements would only boost inflation. Thus, the issue requires a more complex solution.

Answering other questions on the economy consolidation programme the spokesman said that the economic reform can not be "suspended" until the roundtable brings results. This is impossible, because the economic processes in progress are something live-like. We do not want to suspend the reform, but we are open to modifications, to proposals of better solutions, Urban said,

Other Issues

Asked about progress in the investigation into Father Stefan Niedzielak's death, Urban said that the investigation continues, but it has not brought anything new.

The spokesman said also that a broadcasting station in Grodno, Belorussia, will start broadcasting programmes in Polish as of Feb. 21.

Commenting on the stand taken by the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) in the roundtable debates, Urban said that the views of the government and the OPZZ differed on many issues and that it was a natural thing.

Asked about the number of strikes, Urban said that on Feb 13 part of crews stopped working on 16 plants, mostly minor ones. The strike of Pitrkow Trybunalski city transportation employees continues.

Solidarity Executive Commission Issues Statement

LD1402213189 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—The POLISH PRESS AGENCY received the following statement:

At a meeting in Warsaw on February 14 this year the National Executive Commission (KKW) of Solidarity reviewed the current situation in this country.

1. The commission acknowledged the report on the course and advancement of negotiating work at the roundtable and on the stand presented during the negotiations by representatives of Solidarity.

2. The commission states with concern that the material situation is constantly deteriorating as a result of overt and concealed price hikes. The postulate to introduce the principle of periodical wage compensation proportionally to increasing costs of living (indexation), put forward by our delegation in the roundtable negotiations, should be put into life as soon as possible.

3. Hotbeds of social tension are surfacing throughout the country. Chaos in the system of remunerations requires a fundamental regulation for it constitutes one of the elements which make up the ailment of the Polish economy. We still are not sure whether the roundtable will give birth to a clear and honest plan of economic recovery, but such a chance should be created. That is why we think that over the next six weeks one should aim at defusing social tension. For this goal to come true this period should see authorities refraining from price hikes and enterprise managements refraining from making wage-related decisions without consulting Solidarity and other trade unions as well as employee self-management.

4. Solidarity, voicing the principle of trade union pluralism, is ready to cooperate with all the other trade unions. Therefore, we state with concern that we note unfriendly actions towards Solidarity on the part of OPZZ, attempts at appropriating the name of our union, triggering off a demagogical competition of slogans or inciting conflicts and strikes. We warn against this game.

Solidarity Leader Lis Queried on Roundtable

PM1502123889 Brussels LE SOIR in French
14 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Solidarity International Commission Chairman Bogdan Lis by Pol Mathil in Brussels—date not given]

[Text] [Mathil] You are a member of the Solidarity delegation which is taking part in the roundtable between the opposition and the government and you have come to Brussels to establish contact with Western trade unionists. Is it to explain to them why you have given way on two major points—refraining from calling strikes and abandoning the idea of free elections—before the government has been forced to make concessions?

[Lis] Solidarity's legalization—an issue which cannot be avoided—is just a matter of time. A short time ago, you would have described the presence of a delegation from Solidarity—which is illegal but recognized—at a roundtable, on an equal footing with the government delegation, as a great political victory. The right to strike is inviolable. However, in exchange for the promise that we will be legalized, we will refrain from calling strikes during the roundtable.

[Mathil] The government is offering you 40 percent of the seats in the Sejm, in other words it will keep control. Do you accept?

[Lis] It is offering that, but not to us. As a trade union, Solidarity does not plan to participate in or boycott the elections. However, as a legal movement in a system which is becoming pluralist, we will give our support to the candidates put forward by various clubs and associations which will be formed before the elections and which will in fact function like political parties.

[Mathil] In the West, that is called cohabitation. The Communists call it "class collaboration." Are you not playing the government's game?

[Lis] That should all be seen in perspective. We naturally have not abandoned the idea of free elections. But we know that this is now unacceptable to the government which sees it as the means of its destruction. Our philosophy is based on the idea of a development in the Polish state, its peaceful transformation through far-reaching reforms into a democratic state. Such an objective cannot be achieved at a stroke or in 6 weeks, and it obviously cannot be achieved without concessions.

[Mathil] In other words, you are offering the government collective suicide, but in several stages.

[Lis] Everybody agrees that the socialist system, assuming people know what that means, is not working, and that it is counterproductive. The Poles, with few exceptions, think that it should be abandoned to save the country, and that pluralism is necessary. The recent changes affect structures but also people's psychology and mentality—and that includes the people in government....

[Mathil] They are only thinking about keeping power with your help.

[Lis] Perhaps, but I think it is impossible.

[Mathil] However, was it not possible in December 1981?

[Lis] Times have changed....

[Mathil] Especially in Moscow....

[Lis] And in Hungary. We think that people in those two countries are watching us closely and even with some hope. "Official" Soviets visit us. Walesa's first interview has been published in Moscow. We are not threatened and we are not questioning the geopolitical alliance which binds Poland to its neighbors. But this alliance can group together very different countries. To some extent, that is already the case.

[Mathil] What would happen if the government decided to prevent that scenario?

[Lis] We have reached the roundtable 7 years later....

Roundtable Teams on Pay, Ecology Convene

First Debate Held 12 Feb

LD1402223589 Warsaw PAP in English
2056 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 12—The working team for indexation of pays and incomes, appointed at Monday's session of the roundtable team for economy and social policy, held today its first debate, said government deputy spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski.

Co-chairmen of the team are Antoni Rajkiewicz and Andrzej Wielowieyski.

The team is to work on one of the most important problems which is the shaping of pays and incomes in the conditions of progressing inflation. One of the methods may be indexation, which consists in relating the rate of the increase of living costs to the time and in applying a mechanism which automatically adjusts the increase in pays and incomes to that rate.

The first session of the team aimed primarily at preliminary exchange of ideas. The guidelines of the pay and income policy were presented by acting head of Ministry of Labour and Social Policy Jerzy Szreter.

The debaters agreed, in general, with the thesis that when a major part of production means is state-owned, the state cannot resign from shaping of the pay and income policy. However, they also emphasized that this policy should conform to the guidelines of the economic reform and account for the principle of independence of enterprises.

Andrzej Topinski presented in the name of representatives of the opposition the draft of the indexation project. We do not consider this method, said he, to be the ideal and totally effective measure which would control the process of spontaneous shaping of income. However, in our opinion it is a better means than the hitherto ones, and its principal virtue is that it equalizes the increase in remunerations and, therefore, curbs the pay race. Indexation should fully compensate for the increase in the costs of living, and the indexation frequency should be proportional to the inflation rate.

Government representatives stressed the danger stemming from the simultaneous increase of pay caused by indexation and—on the other hand—by individual remuneration systems which have been commonly implemented in plants.

Every outside interference—and undoubtedly an all-embracing indexation would be such a move—would restrict to a large extent the motivating function of remuneration. And so, considerable attention must be paid to whether indexation should be implemented and how it should be done. The all-embracing indexation should not hinder the economic reform, said they.

The next session of the team is to be held on Feb 21.

Subteam for Ecology Meets

LD1402214289 Warsaw PAP in English
1917 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—A "roundtable" subteam for ecology held its inaugural meeting here today. Professor Jerzy Kolodziejski and Professor Stefan Kozlowski are co-chairmen of the 30-strong team.

The participants in the debates presented the most significant problems of natural environment protection and formulated proposals concerning the choice of a field of joint negotiations. The discussion was based on various expertises and results of scientific research as well as proposals included in the draft of a national programme of natural environment protection. They will be used while working out ways designed to effectively solve ecological problems in Poland.

They also stressed that there was an urgent need for a modernization of the system of environmental protection and for a broader participation of society and pro-ecological movement in this field. They also suggested a new look at the role of environment and stressed the need to work out a new ecological strategy.

Spokesman Views Talks on Pay

LD1502000189 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—The opposition says that all pays should go up analogically to costs of living. How does it look in the context of the principle of enterprises' independence, where are incentives and the idea of paying for better work, wondered head of the Ministry of Wages and Social Policy Jerzy Szreter at today's press conference held after the debate of the team for pays and incomes indexation.

Presenting the government side's stand, Szreter said that the system of pays in enterprises makes it possible to increase the fund of remunerations in conformity to the growth of the costs of living. The central authorities can interfere only in minimum wages.

Dwelling on this subject, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance Wincenty Lewandowski added that the indexation should cover those in the worst situation while remunerations in the production sphere should stem from the rules of the economic policy. The two representatives of the government side agreed that more attentions should be paid to the situation of the poorest and the reasons of their material shortages should be examined.

Commenting on the debate of the sub-team for ecology, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Natural Resources Waclaw Kulczynski said that the assessement of the situation by the two sides is in substance concerted while postulates and doubts on the part of the opposition stem from the insufficient information. There are no barriers, he said, to provide full access to this information.

Solidarity and independent circles forward a postulate to strengthen the influence of the ministry and central services on environmental protection. This postulate, Kulczynski said, would however run counter to the principles of decentralization of the power and increasing the share of local authorities in making decisions on these issues.

In reply to the question about the location of nuclear plants, Kulczynksi said that, save for the plant in Zarnowiec, the question remains open.

Post-Session News Conference

LD1402224789 Warsaw PAP in English
2103 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—At a press conference after the debate of the (roundtable) team for pays and incomes indexation and sub-team for ecology, attended by representative of independent circles at the sub-team for ecology Stefan Kozlowski, spokesman for Solidarity and independent circles at the roundtable Janusz Onyszkiewicz commented on government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's statement on "pressing the authority against the wall".

He said that Solidarity forwarded a package of proposals that represent a different viewpoint on settling Polish issues. I am surprised that Mr Urban presents this in such a way, he said. Our goal is to find solutions and the fact that we see differently the functioning of the country in the future is another matter. We do not put the question of cutting the MSW (Internal Ministry) and MON (National Defence Ministry) budgets by 20 percent in the form of an ultimatum. We want to discuss the budget reductions in administration and the above ministries.

In reply to the question by PAP newsman on convergent opinions and differences of views at the ecology table, Kozlowski said that the government side did not present any program of solutions while a 17-point program was presented by Solidarity. The proposal consists in creating in Poland a double (state and public) system of environmental protection. In such a system the state side would be subject to social control.

Answering the question whether Solidarity is against the constructing of Poland's first power plant in Zarnowiec Kozlowski said that they will be able to discuss the purposefulness of this construction when they are shown an analysis of power balance and the estimated costs of the construction.

A postulate of indexation forwarded by Solidarity concerns incomes of all those working and enjoying social benefits. According to Onyszkiewicz, the point is also to hamper panic over pays which is already seen. According to Solidarity and independent circles, the indexation should refer to a full goods basket and real costs of living and not to an indicator of inflation envisaged by the government. Solidarity's proposal would be the first step on the road to curb the inflation.

Official Outlines White-Collar Pay Policy

PM1402165189 Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish
16 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Dr Zygmunt Sibilski of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] On the whole, salaries drawn by teachers, doctors, judges, museum employees, civil servants, and others whose jobs are financed from the state budget

largely discourage people from entering those otherwise highly respectable professions. You know the whole truth about it. Is it true that the intelligentsia is becoming pauperized in relation to groups employed in the so-called material production sectors?

[Sibilski] It is true. In 1979 the average pay in the budget-financed sector amounted to Z4,559 [per month] which constituted 82.8 percent of the average remuneration in the material production sectors (Z5,508). In 1985 the corresponding figures were Z16,664 to Z20,874, the relative proportion having dropped to 79.7 percent. This tendency continued, with the pay differential climbing to upward of Z13,000 by the end of 1988 and the salaries in budget-financed professions constituting 76 percent of the average pay in the material production sector.

It is therefore hardly surprising that we have personnel shortages in the teaching and medical professions and that each year several hundred employees leave the judiciary and the prosecutor's office...

[Scholl] But since 1982 each successive annual plan has included a provision for increasing budget-financed salaries in line with the production sector's pay and even stipulating that the rate of that increase must be a dozen or so percent above that of the production sector's pay to eliminate the proportional difference.

[Sibilski] It has been popularly dubbed the "elastic provision." Its implementation is always prevented by chronic lack of funds. Besides, there are always differences in the regulations which certain sectors have managed to force through in their attempt to bring about statutory guarantees to secure pay increases. Thus some were supposed to have their salaries brought to the level of the average pay in the socialized economy, others to the level of wages in the production sector, still others—for instance, teachers—to the level of remuneration earned by industrial engineering and technical personnel. Moreover, there are certain groups—such as the 850,000 health service personnel—which have no statutory regulations whatever. In addition, the implementation dates for pay increases vary, being set between 1 January and 1 October. In the latter case, which applies to higher education establishments, the increase is in practical terms almost a year late in relation to the pay increases in the material production sector.

[Scholl] So there has been protracted bargaining, with certain groups envying the provisions won by others and using the more advantageous conditions enjoyed by other groups as negotiating levers. But none of this solved the main problem, although the relevant provision had already been included in the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress...

[Sibilski] After many analyses, adjustments, and discussions with the OPZZ the parliamentary bill on the provision of wage funds for the budget-financed sector was finally prepared and will soon be presented to the Sejm.

[Scholl] What is the most important point in the projected act?

[Sibilski] In my opinion, the most important aspect of the new act is that after it comes into force the state budget will be compelled to find funds for the increases we have been discussing here. Also, the fact that these increases will take place twice a year, on 1 January and 1 July, on the basis of ongoing analyses of pay increases in the material production sector prepared and published by the Main Statistical Office. Another very important development is that pay increases in the budget-financed sector will be regulated by means of officially determined normative indices. These will provide concrete figures, referring—in percentage values—to the actual, as opposed to planned, pay increases in the material production sector. Experience has shown that the actual increases are always higher than planned.

[Scholl] What proportions are envisaged here and will the percentage index be identical for the entire budget-financed sector?

[Sibilski] The idea behind the project was to acknowledge, encourage and reward to the fullest extent the intellectual abilities and qualifications of the Polish intelligentsia—given the framework of the still modest budgetary condition of our state. Thus, for example, average pay in higher education establishments or science and research institutions cannot be less than 115 percent of the average pay in the material production sector. In the judiciary and state administration sectors the figure cannot be less than 112 percent, in education and the health service less than 104 percent, and in culture and the arts less than 100 percent. The differences in the percentage index for different sectors stem from the fact that the proportion of highly qualified personnel is not identical in these sectors. For example, while there are upward of 900,000 people employed in education, administrative and technical personnel account for more than ⅓ of that number.

[Scholl] Pay increase differentials will occur also within the sectors themselves. Will this also be regulated by the new act?

[Sibilski] No. The act will only determine the total funds allocated for remuneration of the individual groups. The distribution of these resources between individual schools, hospitals, and other units will be the responsibility of the respective ministers. The central apparatus will also be given the task of developing the fundamental principles of remuneration. But all further distribution, that is, the setting of individual pay limits for individual employees, will be the exclusive and strictly internal responsibility of the relevant budgetary entities. The pay limits themselves, in turn, should be determined by individual work results.

Those who are there on the spot will always know best how to pay their employees, and they can also take into account the situation in the local labor market.

Rational regulation of employment and pay policy will probably be facilitated by the fact that the directive index of manpower quotas ceased to apply as of 1 January. This means that lower manpower levels will allow for more money to be paid out in wages. Another significant development will involve a restructuring of the principles of remuneration which will make it possible to eliminate all factors irrelevant to work results.

[Scholl] Are our economists not afraid of a large influx of "empty" money into a still very modest market—money which will have no solid backing in the shape of the supply of goods?

[Sibilski] Everybody is afraid of that. This is why the move toward the kind of pay relations I have described here will be very gradual. We will not reach our objective in full until after 1992.

[Scholl] So what will 1989 bring us?

[Sibilski] The introduction of the act which we have discussed here and the implementation of interim indices which will guarantee no less than 109 percent of the average pay in the production sector for higher education and research establishments, 102 percent for the administrative and judicial sectors, 101 percent for education, 95 percent for the health service, and 93 percent for the culture and arts sector.

[Scholl] This will cause disappointment....

[Sibilski] In order to guarantee these pay relations, we will need at least Z730 billion. There is some chance that not all of that will be yet more "empty" money. There is a possibility of making some savings in the budget sphere by "streamlining" the budget a little. For example, certain institutions—such as public notary offices, accommodation exchange agencies, voivodship veterinary services, or local planning design services—should become self-financing economic units.

[Scholl] Thank you for the interview.

Peasants' Party Discusses Roundtable Talks

LD1402211989 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—The Presidium of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) Central Committee met here today to assess the to-date course of the "roundtable" debates and the participation of UPP representatives in the talks.

The UPP CC Presidium stressed that the negotiations were held in a business-like atmosphere and that they were accompanied by great expectations and hopes pinned on them by all social milieus. Their results will be of great significance for the effectiveness of social, political and economic reforms as well as for the consolidation of Poland's prestige and position in the family of European nations.

The UPP CC Presidium also stated that strike attempts and new pay demands made during the "roundtable" debates create a climate of social tension and do not serve the building of national agreement.

The UPP Presidium is coming out in favour of legal recognition of pluralism of Polish society that is objectively existing, and of establishing political and institutional conditions for its functioning.

There is space enough for farmers' unions, farmers' circles and organizations as well as for "Solidarity" of individual farmers and for their harmonious cooperation in the interest of rural communities and agriculture.

The UPP CC Presidium fully supports initial decisions of the government economic committee on introducing free procurement prices of agricultural products. It will be conducive to food production development and will be another step in making the entire food economy more market-oriented.

Walesa Speaks to Manifest Lipcowy Miners

LD1402193289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Now a report sent to us by our Katowice correspondent.

[Unidentified correspondent] Lech Walesa met representatives of the Manifest Lipcowy mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj today. The meeting was of a conversational nature. Those present in the hall asked questions. The questions mainly concerned issues related to the roundtable. Lech Walesa said among other things:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] There is a tremendous number of problems and misunderstandings. United we stand, divided we fall. Nobody will build us Poland as a gift. One should, despite all that, try to find accord. I, Lech Walesa, am looking for such an accord. Some people are accusing me: What are you doing? The fact that I am a Nobel prize winner authorizes and obliges me to use all the possibilities, not to throw my weight around, as some people instruct me to do, but to search for peace, if such possibilities exist.

Lech Walesa is not going to set up a political party, but will fulfill a promise given to you, a promise sworn on the statute, on the union, that I will be faithful. However, when this is fulfilled, when you have conducted elections, then we will say more and thank each other. Then you can lead me the way you want to. I also will conduct myself the way I want to, but until this moment such a thought cannot even cross my mind.

[Unidentified speaker] My question concerns the recent strikes. Now they are striking about money, as one puts it. We are not striking, although we probably have more reasons to go on strike for money, as one puts it. But we are not striking in order to support you at the roundtable. What do you think about the enterprises that are on strike at the moment?

[Walesa] We have a right, a moral right to go on strike, but, ladies and gentlemen, let us here and now take a stone or a ball from a bearing and throw it at random. We will kill ourselves. [sentence as heard] There are important matters at the moment. We must resolve thousands of issues. Single-handed we will work something out. We will even see that one enterprise even gets something. [sentence as heard] We only increase inflation this way. However, precisely what is happening, what is happening today, proves that as soon as there is some freedom we only start to claw at each other's throats, organize strikes, and create anarchy in our life.

There are opponents of reforms and of what we want to build, both on our side and on the side of the authorities. In my opinion, in order to help our own cause we should give the roundtable a chance. I do not know what will come out of it. If there is a thin chance to build a better Poland, it must be taken. At present it generally seems that there is a chance to solve these problems (?painlessly) in a civilized and peaceful manner. [end recording]

Regional Strikes Continue During Roundtable

Steamship Workers Strike

LD1402190489 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Excerpt] [Unidentified correspondent] The collective dispute by Polish Steamship Company [PZM] workers is continuing. The dispute is over unfulfilled promises by management to increase wages. Talks were held today between the PZM seamen's trade unions and management. Here is Marek Kozlowski, PZM Seamen's Trade Union chairman:

[Begin recording] [Kozlowski] In accordance with the regulations in force in the country, we want more to be given to those at work, for those at sea and for land workers. The highest wage for a captain, that is the first person on a ship, is Z62,000. When the evaluation system is introduced and the fleet, wages will double.

[Correspondent] You think that such a system would be much more logical?

[Kozlowski] Not only more logical, it would be more just. The necessity of carrying out these changes... [break in transmission] [end recording]

Strike at Construction Plant

AU1402162189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Report signed "alz": "Wage Dispute at Suwalki 'Fadom' Plant"]

[Text] On 8 February 208 employees of the "Fadom" construction materials plant did not start work at 0700 and demanded a Z30,000 raise for every employee.

Following talks with management and after being told that the bank refuses to lend to money to cover raises in view of the enterprise's poor performance, the striking employees started work at 1330 on 9 February.

The strike has only been suspended and a state of strike readiness still exists at the plant. Talks with management on the subject of wage raises are in progress.

Lodz Transport Strike

LD1502143189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] Now over to Lodz:

[Unidentified correspondent] Tension is growing among the workforce of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise in Piotrkow Trybunalski, which is in its 6th day of strike. This has been caused by the impossibility of resolving the conflict at the voivodship level. Representatives of the Finance Ministry summoned by the Strike Committee to explain tax and legal intricacies connected with the enterprise financing system have not arrived at the enterprise. Changes took place in the Strike Committee. The Piotrkow Voivoda has issued an appeal that the strike be suspended, the proposed rise of 50 zloty per hour be accepted and that the conflict be resolved with the participation of the social arbitration committee attached to the Voivodship Court in Piotrkow Trybunalski.

During an extraordinary meeting in Lodz today of the Trade Unions Federation Presidium of the Municipal Transport Employees, it was said, among other things, that the strikers' demands were justified. The reason for the conflict is the nonfulfilment of an agreement signed by the federation and the government side on 28 April last year. That agreement provided for the introduction, at the beginning of this year, of new systems of financing the municipal transport enterprises.

Economic Strikes Begin

LD1502144189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Since 0400 there has been a strike in Starachowice.

In Sieradz a strike has been announced to commence as from 1300.

In Katowice a sit-in strike is continuing in two depots. They are only working 8 hours a day there. These are not strikes in Solidarity, but economic strikes.

Sejm Session Convenes on Economic Issues

LD1502120389 Warsaw PAP in English
1000 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—The Sejm (parliament) started its meeting today with the agenda including:—reports by the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances on the draft budget for 1989 and bills on the state balance of payments, the balance of the population's income and spending, credit plan and assumptions of the money-credit policy, plans of the Central Culture Development Fund, of the State Labour Redeployment Fund, and of the Central Scientific and Technological Development Fund,

—reports by the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and the Committee for Legislative Procedure on government bills on the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund and Exports Development Fund.

—report by the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, the Self-management Affairs Committee and the Committee for Legislative Procedure on the government bill on some conditions for national economy consolidation and on amending some laws,

—report by the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and the Committee for Legislative Procedure on the government draft foreign exchange law,

—report by Committee for Administration, Internal Affairs and the Judiciary and the Committee for Legislative Procedure on the government bill on establishing the national independence day,

—report by the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, the Committee for Social Policy, Health and Physical Culture and the Committee for legislative Procedure on deputies draft amendments to the law on the system and financing of social insurances

—report by the Committee for National Education and Youth and the Committee for Legislative procedure on the government draft law on naming the higher pedagogical school in Zielona Gora, western Poland, after Polish philospher Tadeusz Kotarbinski

—deputies' interpellations and question time.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski opened the meeting. He gave the floor to deputy Mieczyslaw Buziewicz, a rapporteur of the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances.

Ciosek Speaks on Roundtable at PRON Session

AU0902171489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
6 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo Member and Secretary General of the PRON National Council, at a meeting of the PRON National Council Executive Committee in Warsaw on 4 February]

[Text] We are meeting on the eve of the "roundtable." This is the second time our Executive Committee has examined this important public topic. We expressed our expectations of the "roundtable" last September at a meeting that was full of polemics and heated discussion. We said that the chance to accelerate an accord between Poles cannot be wasted. We underlined the need for commonsense, patience, and support for the suggestions that take national interests into consideration. We showed that it is necessary to sit down at a table together as soon as possible. Our idea is beginning to materialize at last.

The idea of a "roundtable" grew out of the movement of national rebirth. The idea of accord guided us when the first PRON cells were established. Our movement was born in answer to Poland's need following martial law, the need for accord between Poles on the most important national issues, the need to expand the social base of government, and the need to reform the economy.

It was the founding committee's and provisional national committee's idea to hold a meeting at which people representing various views and world outlooks, even those who criticize the authorities and the exercising of authority, could talk at a single table. We decided to ignore the squawking of sceptics. We decided not to succumb to hopelessness and to slowly lead the country out of the political and economic crisis into which it collapsed in 1980 and 1981. We did this in the face of opposition from more than one milieu, despite accusations that we were collaborators, and despite all the reluctance and lack of tolerance. With its ideas and actions, our movement has encouraged progress and normalization of life in Poland.

It was we who called for an early end to martial law, the release of the internees, and the adoption of an amnesty. It was we who gave birth to the new democratic institutions of social consultations and referendum. Our Executive Committee applied for an end to martial law and for the possibility of a return to normal life and work for those sentenced for breaches of martial law and those in hiding. Our movement led to the 1984 roundtable on the subject of the chances for and barriers to national accord. Let me remind you that that meeting was also attended by those representatives of academic and opinion-giving circles who did not approve of the idea of PRON.

Our movement led the way in calling for the creation of the constitutional tribunal. We developed the idea of a civic ombudsman

That is a summary of the PRON activity that we can present at the "roundtable" on Monday. Let me also remind you that we were also the originators or joint originators of many other nationwide or local initiatives, such as the National Social Pledge in Aid of Schools, or the Social Ecological Movement.

We committed ourselves to the best of our ability in the reforms to the economy, agriculture, education, and culture, though obviously not all of our ideas were adopted.

As time went by, we ourselves came to the conclusion that the formula of PRON as the broadest platform of national accord was too narrow. Of course, we did win many supporters, but many social circles remained beyond our reach. We did not manage to win the support of most of the so-called silent average citizens or to attract opposition circles, although we did a lot to attract them by organizing interesting forums of discussion, including in the columns of our journals odrodzenie [rebirth] and konfrontacje.

Foreign and domestic circumstances have changed in recent years. Poland itself has changed. Everyone has changed. What seemed impossible a few years ago is becoming reality today. People who were so divided before and not even willing to shake hands are now about to hold talks together—for the sake of the supreme interests of the fatherland.

The present opening of a new chapter in our history was preceded by numerous attempts at reform and change, and by excessively slow steps to reform the political and economic systems and make our lives more democratic. The effects of these changes is undeniable. They have altered the attitudes of people who were intransigent before.

We have learned that social dissatisfaction with difficult living conditions can take the form of strikes, strikes which settle nothing and aggravate the situation instead of improving it. Dissatisfaction can find other outlets apart from strikes. Disagreement with wrongdoing can lead to an agreement to extricate the country and the economy together from the crisis.

Without social and political accord, there is no question of economic progress, nor of a solution to poland's highly-complex problems. In order to achieve radical progress in the economic reform, Poland needs a new, broad alliance of all social forces, regardless of their real colors; forces with only one aim in mind—the welfare of Poland.

Our feeling of realism and awareness of this chance forces us to try and reach a compromise. One cannot escape from reality. Without society's support, there is no question of implementing the program of economic stabilization which involves steps that are not easy, and frequently very painful. Without such steps, however, there is no question of healing industry and halting the galloping inflation.

Poland's political structure has been changing for many years. One can see that with the naked eye. We stopped talking about a moral-political unity of society a long time ago. The polish opposition has also been a reality for a long time. Poland needs an opposition that is a critical-minded alternative to the authorities and a critical adjuster of mistakes. Acknowledging this reality, we are now standing before a difficult threshold, involving joint activity with the opposition and sharing power and responsibility with it. This is a difficult threshold, a difficult piece of homework that we want to solve together, especially because there is nothing on which to model our search for pioneering solutions.

A democratic openness toward various oppositional shades of society involves a certain risk. We realize that. But we also know that unless we take that risk, unless we take bold steps, we will not solve Poland's great socio-economic problems or provide answers to the questions facing the entire socialist formation today.

We are faced with the task of meeting many unknown quantities. We are on the threshold of radical and irreversible changes. We are aiming toward new solutions, toward a new shape of socialism, a better socialism, one in which a man lives better and in greater dignity.

As a social movement of support for the alliance of leftwing democratic forces and as a civic movement intent on eliminating wrongdoing from our lives, PRON has a major part to play along this road. As the participants in the September meeting of the Executive Committee said, PRON is and should remain a broad representation of progressive and patriotic forces that have spoken out in favor of the Polish rescue program. They said that this is a broad forum containing people with various views and convictions, but not the only one.

I think that the shape and formula of PRON in today's changing reality should become a subject for thought in every single body belonging to our movement. The national council will surely consider this topic at its next meeting.

It is also worth considering the role which PRON ought to play in a situation of developing political and trade union pluralism, how our movement can influence changes in the state, and how it can win support for the reform, expand social dialogue, and create positive social and economic features that serve citizens.

To sum up, that which divided Poland in the past can no longer paralyze our ability to act. Our movement is fully aware of that. We do not claim that patriotism is our exclusive right and that we enjoy a monopoly over national accord. That is why I believe our movement can welcome with satisfaction the historic fact that those who did not agree with us in the past and saw Polish affairs in a different way are now ready to take part in dialogue on the subject of Poland's future and cooperate for the sake of Poland's welfare.

I believe our hope for a new social contract will accompany the "roundtable" talks that are just about to start, a contract in which the participating sides will manage to reach a national accord over and above their differences in political and philosophical attitudes.

Let us believe that a common front of struggle against the crisis will arise, a struggle to implement the profound economic and political reforms.

Rapprochement is Poland's great chance. We must win. Poland and the Poles need such a hope.

Ciosek, Others Meet PZPR Groups Leaders

LD0902055589 Warsaw PAP in English 0050 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8—Secretaries of basic PUWP organizations held today meetings in Warsaw, Katowice and Lublin to discuss the situation of the party in plants as well as the economic and socio-political issues in the light of the resolutions of the PUWP CC 10th Plenum.

The meeting in Warsaw which gathered PUWP activists from 10 central and eastern voivodships, was attended by Janusz Patorski and Zygmunt Czarzasty. Answering doubts voiced by debaters, Vice-Premier Janusz Patorski stressed that the party entered the period of struggle and one must create a force which will efficiently support political and economic reforms. The socialist ideals are not sold out—PUWP only sets itself free from useless habits. Patorski also presented principles adopted by the government to put the economy in order. An important role in this process is ascribed to market mechanisms.

Zygmunt Czarzasty opposed the opinion that the party is not ready yet to accept the trade union and political pluralism. The resolution of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum has only exposed the vital problems besetting the workers' movement for a long time, said he. We witness an experiment which failed for the first time at the beginning of the eighties. The monopoly prevented PUWP members from learning how to fight with arguments, although the latter are in abundance. The ongoing process of the transformation of PUWP from a managing party into an intellectual leader results from the role which should be played by PUWP in a modern society.

Stanislaw Ciosek said at the meeting in Lublin that it is not true that PUWP wasted the past 40 years. But if it will not ensure a comfortable standard of living to workers, they will hire others to be their representatives. We must be aware of our ancillary role, said he. Allowing for opposition means the rise of competition which will make us fight. Perhaps our low efficiency stems from the to-date lack of competition. Our socialist ideals are not worn out, but we have not implemented them. The opposition shares them. By letting the opposition speak we are trying to create a new, better Poland, a new socialism. Now, the party will not be a manager but a guardian of principal values. The PUWP has already begun to acquire more characteristics pertaining to a party than to a manager, Ciosek said.

Solidarity's Onyszkiewicz Holds News Conference

AU1402104389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Report on news conference given by Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz in Warsaw on 7 February]

[Text] On Tuesday, there was a news conference by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the Civic Committee [of Solidarity], who replied to several dozen questions from Polish and foreign journalists.

Most of the questions were about the future Sejm elections, while others asked for an explanation of the term "non-confrontational elections."

We have been in favor of free elections since 1981, said J. Onyszkiewicz. However, we perceive the possibility of a short transitional stage in which certain restrictions would be in force. Therefore, the term "non-confrontational elections" does not mean a battle to push through this or that program and competition between candidates for Sejm seats. All this has to take place. What is meant is "non-confrontational" in a literal sense.

J. Onyszkiewicz also explained that "Solidarity" cannot imagine being allowed to take part in the election campaign with its own list of candidates, which does not mean that its members will not run in this campaign. However, they will not be a "Solidarity" representation. Asked whether "Solidarity" would be ready to accept the distribution of Sejm seats, J. Onyszkiewicz replied that the union does not consider itself to be a mirror image of PRON, in other words, an election platform. Such an arrangement would be impermissible. However, it is desirable that a certain number of seats in the Sejm will be "available to anyone" and that anyone who satisfies certain conditions (the support of a proportion of the electorate, for example) may compete for a deputy's mandate.

Most of the answers on the subject of the elections ended with the statement that it is too early to provide detailed information, and that one should await the outcome of the talks of the relevant team that will deal with this topic.

[Question] Are you not afraid that certain "Solidarity" circles will accuse the whole of "Solidarity" of selling out to the government?

[Onyszkiewicz] "Solidarity" and the independent milieus are going to talk to the government with the conviction that a compromise is necessary. In order to reach any compromise, it is necessary to make concessions. Therefore, one should realize at the outset that it will not be possible to fulfill all hopes during the 6 weeks of the talks. Naturally, some people will think that the "roundtable" is

a failure. There was a similar situation during the strikes in 1980. The accords signed then are considered a major victory today, but many people at that time thought that one could have gone further and made greater demands. There will always be dissatisfied people. However, I hope that the compromise reached at the "roundtable" will be clear and legible enough for most of society to accept it.

[Question] How many members do you think "Solidarity" will have? Ten million? How many founding committees are operational today?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not think the union will be as large as it was in 1981. I think some people will not belong to any union at all, and others might transfer from the present unions to "Solidarity." It is difficult to foresee anything while the union is still illegal. As far as founding committees are concerned, I have no up-to-date information. There used to be 500 of them, but the situation is changing from one day to the next.

[Question] Society's reaction to the present talks is more restrained than to any other previous talks. Can "Solidarity's" legalization create a kind of "revival of hope"?

[Onyszkiewicz] Permitting various social groups to form themselves into associations and the creation of mechanisms whereby various milieus can voice their own demands may animate the situation in Poland, but for many people, daily existence will continue to be the most important matter. One cannot expect success at the "roundtable" to fill the empty shelves in shops. A revival of social forces is the only way to fill these shelves.

[Question] Many "Solidarity" aktivists went abroad when martial law was introduced. Is there a chance that they will come back?

[Onyszkiewicz] All those who left because of the rigors of martial law are going to have a difficult choice to make, because many of them have started a new life. The reasons why they left no longer exist, and perhaps some of them may decide to come back. During his Paris visit, Lech Walesa invited all of them to return.

[Question] Could the "roundtable" end in only a partial success?

[Onyszkiewicz] The "roundtable" can end either in success or in failure. There is no halfway stage. In order to talk about success, the people must be convinced that something important has happened, and that at last we have embarked along a one-way road along which there is no turning back. An absence of such a conviction would mean a failure of the "roundtable."

[Question] Is there a possibility of cooperation between various trade unions, for example between "Solidarity" and the OPZZ?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not wish to forestall events as far as Miodowicz's proposed trade union accord between working people is concerned. This issue will be settled during the meetings of the working teams. Any alliance that is reached in the future would be an unheard-of thing by present standards, but not impermissible. One cannot rule out such a possibility.

[Question] In the working team that is chaired by Walesa, are there not excessive differences in ways of looking at matters? Will young people not put forth demands that are too radical?

[Onyszkiewicz] The entire community of oppositional circles is not united. The opposition is also pluralistic. During the preparations, we reached a consensus on most matters. The greatest differences in view may appear during talks on economic issues, because it will be necessary to discuss very difficult issues on which there are many different points of view. Unnecessary divisions must correspond to divisions between the generations.

PZPR Ideological Conference Continues Work

Six Study Teams Meet

LD0302223789 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw Feb 3—Friday was the second day of the nationwide theoretical-ideological conference of the PUWP. The discussion within six study teams concerned the key political, social and economic problems, determinants of socialist renewal, the party's place and role in the process of transformations.

Ideological and political aspects of economic development were discussed by team No. 1 which conferred under the chairmanship of Wladyslaw Baka.

The idea motivating the speakers is best presented in the statement by Profesor Antoni Rajkiewicz: Poland cannot rationalize its development without a sweeping economic reform which should be accompanied by equally profound political and social transformations. Economic reform is not only a must but also an answer to challenges of the present day. Reformatory moves also require—which was pointed out by Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski or Dr Andrzej Szablewski—a development based on three sectors of the economy, the private sector included.

Against this background Doc Andrzej Antonszewski raised the problem of the party's tasks under economic reforms. Overcoming the remnants of the command-distribution system requires far-reaching changes in the structure and functioning of political institutions, the party in particular.

Team No 2, chaired by Zbigniew Michalek, looked at social structure changing as a result of economic and political reforms. The discussion was based on reports

concerning worker values in the period of reforms of the 1980s, the fundamental problems of the development of the countryside and farming in conditions of socialism and dilemmas and perspectives of Polish intelligentsia.

There were also numerous questions. Answer is needed for example to the question about the difference between socialism and communism, the question of whether the PUWP is a socialist or a communist party. It seems—the discussants said—that it is time to give up the slogan about its being a united and a workers' party. Voices calling for a change of the party's name are right.

The discussion of the Polish model of democracy carried out in the 3rd study team headed by Kazimierz Cypryniak focused on the directions of constitutional changes, determinants of pluralism, society's participation in power wielding, leading role of the party in the political system under reform. Following are some most characteristic statements made by the participants in the debate:

The constitution of the Polish People's Republic, which was formulated in the period of significant growth of the influence of Stalinism and intensifying "cold war", cannot serve the development of a new phase of socialism. A new constitution should put barriers preventing bureaucratic deformations of socialism, continue to strengthen law and order, to develop the civic freedom and rights' package, said Profesor Sylwester Zawadzki.

Professor Mariusz Gulczynski said that one should not be sulky about the objective phenomenon of pluralism in our economic, ideological and political life nor to focus mainly on guarding the principles of socialism through banning aspects of pluralism which exceed the frames of old structures. It is necessary to adjust the system to the demands of the living social matter while limiting only the aggressive, anti-socialist one.

The guiding role of the party cannot result from a decree nor to be embodied in the constitution. The real significance of the party will be determined, in the conditons of pluralism, by the power of its arguments, the ability to foresee the development of events, the effectiveness of work, Professor Adolf Dobieszewski said.

The discussion on transformations of the party in the process of social renewal held in the 4th team was preceded by several reports the first of which delivered by Jozef Oleksy made an attempt to analyse the notion of democratic centralism as the key principle of the party's functioning.

The report presented a thesis that healthy democratic centralism stakes on the individual in the party ranks, on giving up electoral nomenclature, persistent inter-party consultaions, horizontal connections and group structures, the disclosure of differences of views within the party.

The debates were co-chaired by Zygmunt Czarzsty and Leszek Miller.

Social awareness of the process of Polish transformations was the subject of discussion in the 5th team. The sociomoral consciousness and attitudes are winning ever greater significance now as their condition can speed up or impede developmental processes, it was stressed.

The concern-arousing domination of economic problems makes that problems related to awareness frequenly become "nobody's land" and are easily taken over by political opponents.

Jozef Czyrek headed the debates of the 6th team which focussed on the place and the role of Poland in the world of cooperation and confrontation. The discussion followed reports on the essence of contemporary transformations and developmental tendencies in the socialist countries, economic integration of these countries, universal problems of the contemporary times and the strategy of anti-commnism to transformations in contemporary socialism.

The 3rd National PUWP Theoretical-Ideological Conference will end on Saturday. Participants in the conference will resume plenary discussion during which members of the teams will present conclusions from their work.

Socialist Party Presence Felt

AU0902145489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] PAP—The All-Polish PZPR Theoretical-Ideological Conference was attended by party aktivists and social academicians from the following parties: The CPSU, BCP, CPCZ, SED, RCP, and MSZMP. They spoke during the plenary talks and during the meetings of problems committees, presenting the experiences of their countries and theoretical opinions on ways of developing socialism. Thus, the conference participants were able to acquaint themselves with current theoretical thinking in these countries, and the foreign guests had a chance to learn about Polish concepts. Such an exchange of opinions improves one's view of ways of solving problems in our countries, and conforms to the principles that bind them.

Final Day of Conference Reported

AU0902152489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Text] PAP—The 3-day All-Polish PZPR Theoretical-Ideological Conference ended on Saturday, 4 February. It was attended by 450 party aktivists, theoreticians, scholars, and workers of the ideological front, delegates from the allied parties, invited nonparty people, and representatives of friendly parties from European socialist countries.

A total of 185 people spoke at the plenary talks and during committee meetings.

The last day began with the reading of the reports of the six problems committees.

The report of the first committee ("The Ideological and Political Aspects of Economic Development") was read by Jerzy Hausner. He stressed that at a time of socioeconomic crisis, the links between economics and politics have become very intricate. Therefore, the committee believes that short-term development patterns should not be formulated for the time being. Instead, one should continue development based on long-term forecasts.

Problems of ownership were a conspicuous item on the agenda. The idea of a mixed, multisector economy was accepted. However, there is concern over the worse management conditions in state enterprises compared to private enterprises (finances, wages, employment). As far as the socialization of state enterprises is concerned, most speakers lent their support to the principle of self-management. A lot of attention was paid to economic mechanisms. Under the present conditions, a market system cannot heal the situation, all it can do is push wages and prices up. As for restructuring, its success depends on the modernization of production and on technological progress, which must be implemented at the bottom, not at the top. However, the struggle against inflation, which is eating away the entire organism of the economy, was considered the greatest problem. A freeze on prices and wages next year was suggested. As for social policy, several speakers admitted that it has been neglected since the ninth Congress, and that halfway measures have been applied in this sphere.

Wladyslaw Markiewicz delivered the report of the second problems committee ("Changes in the Social Structure Under the Influence of the Economic and Political Reforms"). He said that the committee had firmly spoken out in favor of a departure from the outdated division of society into workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. Thorough changes have occurred in Poland, including the emergence of a new average class formed out of the old social classes and strata. New interclass relationships will appear in future, for example, between urban and rural inhabitants. Heavy emphasis was laid on problems of agriculture and rural areas, where it is essential to modernize the infrastructure and social life in general. The social role and mission of the intelligentsia, especially intellectuals, was also examined. Views were divided on the subject of the condition of the social sciences and the usefulness of their research. W. Markiewicz said that the committee discussed social changes in terms of the party's duties in this sphere. At a time of a historic breakthrough like today, the party should seek the support of young people, who crave for innovations and access to modern solutions. The following are the conditions for success: The completion of the process of de-Stalinization, the creation of an attractive program for the future, and complete harmony between words and deeds.

The report of the third committee ("The Polish Model of Democracy") was delivered by Adolf Dobieszewski. The talks were divided into two streams, he said. One examined general ideas concerning democracy, and the other examined its practical applications. There were many remarks about the multifaceted pluralism illustrated by the latest changes in Poland, a pluralism caused by differences in political views, interests, attitudes, and so on. Everyone agreed that the country's problems can only be solved by means of profound reforms. However, pro-reformist forces will not be mobilized without greater democracy and civic liberties. That way, the economy will also receive new development stimuli. Also, a clear demarcation between legislative, executive, and judicial authority is required. In addition, the continuation of the reforms requires further improvements to the law. Representative bodies, such as councils, must be completely independent of the administration.

The party's program, its role among society, and the quality of its ranks will determine success, A. Dobieszewski said, although the idea of party hegemony does not suit reality. That is also a reason why the alliance with the ZSL and SD must be based on the principle of equality. We are on the verge of a historic national compromise, on the verge of a coalition with the constructive opposition, toward which the party cannot remain indifferent.

Bronislaw Ratus delivered the report of the fourth committee ("Changes in the Party Under Socialist Renewal"). He underlined the conference participants' total agreement about the need for a consistent reform to the state and political system, which also includes a reform to the party itself. It is necessary to observe established ideological principles, and it also necessary to accord them a new interpretation, in keeping with today's needs. This applies especially to the principle of democratic centralism. The fate of the party will also be determined in the sphere of economic activity, B. Ratus continued. But the new political forces will also determine reality. Therefore, pluralism is also necessary inside the camp of the leftwing forces.

B. Ratus mentioned a series of problems which, in the committee's opinion, still need to be considered. They include: What is socialism, what kinds of socialism are there, what out of Lenin's works is useful and valid during Polish changes, how should we interpret the concept of a civic society, and what social forces are interested in socialist construction. A greater use of the experience of sociodemocratic parties and of the entire reformist movement in general were called for. It was suggested that the 11th congress be held earlier than planned. B. Ratus also addressed a series of concrete recommendations to the party, including making the work of party cells more democratic.

Kazimierz Jaskot read the report of the fifth problems committee ("Social Consciousness During the Polish Changes"). He presented various typical social views on the subject of the crisis in Poland, and said that it is necessary to dispense with the practice of dividing society into those who support socialism and those who oppose it. Pluralism is a historic necessity. However, the party and society are not fully prepared for it. Dialogue

between people with different types of philosophy plays an important part in these preparations, because in the long run, socialism will be materialized in the presence of believers. Hence the need to attach greater importance to society's philosophical education.

New party information policy was an important item on the agenda, said K. Jaskot. Propaganda should be a conscious tool of politics. The balance between short-term activity and long-term strategy should be preserved. The party must reject everything irrelevant, reach for new ways of influencing society, and learn to seek out supporters, who must include young people who connect their future with the future of the country.

The last report, that of the sixth committee ("Poland in the Light of Cooperation and Confrontation") was read by Ryszard Wojna, who said it is high time to stop looking at Poland's place in the world through polarized glasses and perceive the relationship between the parochial and universal aspects of many problems. Unless we learn to think more in terms of the world as a whole, we will cease to understand the modern world. R. Wojna said that an important aspect of international relations is the balance of interests, which is replacing the balance of forces. That means it is necessary to pay more attention to the interests of our partners.

The new political thinking, R. Wojna continued, has manifested itself in international relations faster than in domestic socialist transformations. At the same time, the basic values of socialism are becoming universal, as a result of which socialism is regaining its humanitarian countenance. We are also viewing the world leftwing stream in a different way; and we now notice that, apart from communists, it also includes socialists, social democrats, ecologists, and so on. Former prejudices must be rejected and the experience provided by these prejudices must be put to use.

The discussion pointed out the bad functioning of the economic cooperation mechanisms created by CEMA. Instead of encouraging this cooperation, these mechanisms are blocking it in places. Some people even said that temporary economic disintegration should be brought about as encouragement for economic integration. Apart from that, it is essential to expand European cooperation and find a common economic language with the West. After all, the foundations of the "common European home" must be economic.

Ideological Chief Briefs Press

AU0902172489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] PAP—At the end of the All-Poland PZPR Theoretical-Ideological Conference, Andrzej Czyz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Committee, replied to questions from Polish and foreign journalists. Asked which issues had led to heated exchanges of views, he said that such issues were the essence of socialism, the concept of a civic society, and the paths and forms of social ownership of state resources. Opinions were also divided over the shaping of the political system in Poland—whether socialist parliamentarism should develop, or whether the principle of triple power—legislative, executive, and judicial—should reemerge in Poland.

Rakowski Scheduled To Visit France 14-16 Feb

PAP Previews Visit

LD1202195389 Warsaw PAP in English 1731 GMT 12 Feb 89

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Feb 12—The programme of a working visit that Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski will pay here February 14-16 was announced here. The Polish premier is scheduled to meet President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas as well as leaders of the main political parties. Rakowski will also attend an inaugural meeting of the administrative council of the Polish-French chamber of industry and commerce.

Premier Rakowski's visit will be the first one to be paid by a head of the Polish Government here since 1977. Observers here point out that this very fact stresses the significance of the visit which the Frenchmen hope will start a new stage in bilateral relations which have been slowly improving since December 1985 when Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Francois Mitterrand in the Elysee Palace.

In the 1980s, economic position of France in Poland clearly got weakened, as France dropped from the second place on the list of Poland's Western trading partners to the sixth one. However, the setting up of the Polish-French chamber of industry and commerce shows a clear rise in the interest of French businessmen in Poland. The Frenchmen do not conceal that this is linked to political changes and reforms pursued in Poland.

Still as a Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, Premier Rakowski visited Paris in June 1988.

An interview for LD MONDE given by Mieczyslaw Rakowski aroused great interest here and three channels of the French TV broadcast its summary in evening news bulletins on Friday. The press also carried extensive excerpts of the interview on Saturday.

It is pointed out here that Mieczyslaw Rakowski's visit coincides with the roundtable debates in Warsaw. French observers view the roundtable debates as a confirmation of these political changes which the Polish premier discussed in his interview for LE MONDE.

Rakowski Arrives in Paris

LD1402224889 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Paris, Feb 14—Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski arrived here at noon on a 3-day working visit. He is accompanied by chairman of the Sejm (parliament) Group of Friendship Poland-France and chairman of the Polish committee for observances of the 200th anniversary of the great French Revolution Deputy Ryszard Wojna and by president of the Polish chamber of Foreign Trade Pihz Tadeusz Zylkowski.

The itinerary of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's visit here provides for meetings and talks with France's President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Michel Rocard, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and leaders of the main political parties. He will also participate in an inaugural session of the French-Polish industrial-trade chamber which is currently starting its activity.

Starting his visit here, Rakowski stated: "First of all I would like to enliven the 'Polish-French marriage'. It is many many-year-old and the time has come for a 'second love' which reflects many mutual interests. I would like to use this visit for presenting during the talks with the French politicians our Polish issues which are significant also for France and the whole Europe. That what is currently taking place in Poland, I mean the initiative forwarded by the PUWP at its Central Committee 10th Plenum, has in my opinion a historic dimension.

"The transformations which we announce to take place in Poland's political structures will have an undoubted influence on Europe. This is no sign of national megalomania on my part, but the awareness of the fact that Poland has never been erased from Europe by anyone and will never be. I am also aware that the reform plans which we initiate are very important for peaceful development of Europe and for strengthening the movements of the left wing movements regardless of their colouring.

"We also wish to convince our creditors from the Paris Club that so that Poland could be a stable country, and this lies in the interest of this club's members, our creditors should enable use to create such conditions in national economy which in the future would make Poland capable of paying back the debt. This capability, will and readiness of the Paris Club members for creating such conditions conducive to the development of Poland's national economy I regard as the first indispensable element should one wish Poland be a stable country as a country of stabilization," the premier stated.

On Tuesday, Prime Minister Rakowski went to the seat of the French Socialist Party PS where he met with party's first secretary Pierre Mauroy. Following an initiative of Mauroy, a monument to Poles who had come to live and work in France was erected in Lille in 1979. As a result of his another initiative, a ceremony was organized a few months ago to mark the 10th anniversary of erecting this monument to the French-Polish friendship.

The talk which lasted over one hour passed in a friendly atmosphere and concerned, among other things, the situation in Poland. Mauroy showed interest in the latest developments in Poland this including the round table debate. He said that Poland undoubtedly belongs to the avantgarde of transformations that are taking place in socialist countries. He suggested to tighten the interparty cooperation and exchange of delegations and working groups of PS and PUWP.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski invited Pierre Mauroy to pay a visit to Poland.

On the same day Rakowski met with General Secretary of the Communist Party of France PCF Georges Marchais and Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Maxim Gremetz. Members of the PCF leadership received with full understanding and approval the changes taking place in Poland as ones being in line with the general assumptions of PCF's stand on building socialism in national colours.

Swedish Foreign Minister Arrives 9 Feb

Meets Olechowski

LD0902215989 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson arrived in Poland today on an official three-day visit at the invitation from his Polish counterpart Tadeusz Olechowski in what is considered as a manifestation of the striving for intensification of both countries' contacts at various planes. Andersson was greeted at Warsaw's Okecie Airport by Olechowski.

Directly after the Swedish visitor laid flowers at the tomb of the unknown soldier here the two foreign ministers had a direct meeting which preceded Polish-Swedish plenary talks held at the Foreign Ministry here.

During the talks both ministers stressed that the two Baltic countries were united by many common interests. Discussing the whole of bilateral relations, the two voiced an opinion that they were favourably developing though there was stagnation in some domains, for instance in economic cooperation which does not reflect the economic potentials of Poland and Sweden despite the existing objective conditions for its development.

These problems will be touched upon by Poland's minister of Foreign Economic Relations who is to attend a session of the Polish-Swedish mixed commission in Sweden next March.

The current talks also focused on cooperation in environment protection, the issue generating interest in both countries. The Polish foreign minister took a stand on the recent proposal forwarded by a group of liberal deputies to swap Poland's foreign debt owed to Sweden for investment in protection of the environment. Andersson was of the opinion that other European partners should help Poland in this field. The Polish minister of Environment Protection and Natural Resources will visit Sweden next May.

The sides also discussed tourist exchange between the two countries. Plenary talks will continue on Friday.

Also today, the Swedish guest visited the old town and the royal castle here.

In the evening, Tadeusz Olechowski gave a dinner in Sten Andersson's honour. Both ministers delivered speeches.

Andersson Speaks at Dinner

LD1002005689 Warsaw PAP in English
2213 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—In his speech delivered at a dinner given in his honour tonight, Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson said in part:

Our countries are united by a century-old common European identity. From this point of departure we should work towards a common goal—to safeguard peace and progress in our part of the world.

Our continent is at present undergoing profound changes. Changes which I do not hesitate to describe as historic.

At long last there is an awareness in the whole of Europe at the same time that the road to lasting peace and economic development requires confidence, co-operation and mutual respect for each other's special character from an economic, political and social point of view.

Environmental issues must be given priority.

It is in Sweden's interests to develop co-operation with Poland and to commence an open and trusting dialogue.

In Sweden we are following with great interest the reform process that has been initiated in Poland for the purpose of creating increased dynamics in the economy. We know that you are energetically looking for new solutions to difficult problems and in this search you are also looking abroad. We are naturally very gratified if our experiences can be of use to Poland.

On account of its historic tradition, Poland has an important role to play in the process at present under way in this part of the world in the direction of greater openness, freer exchanges of opinions and political and trade union plurality.

Europe needs an economically strong, a socially just and a politically stable Poland, in which the country's diversity is reflected in its social system.

Meets Malinowski, Czyrek

LD1002234889 Warsaw PAP in English
1853 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson continued his official visit to Poland today.

Andersson called on Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski and the two voiced their satisfaction over the development of contacts between Polish and Swedish parliamentarians.

Malinowski referred to the Warsaw conference of the presidents of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada, speaking highly about the role played by the Riksdag speaker in that meeting.

Malinowski told the Swedish guest about the steps taken to implement proposals forwarded during the Warsaw meeting. One of them is a proposal for young European parliamentarians to meet on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary and head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek received Sten Andersson at the Sejm building here today. Czyrek told his guest about the situation in Poland, progress in the process of national agreement and in social, political and economic reforms. The sides exchanged opinions on the overall international situation, with special regard to the need to expand cooperation of Baltic states.

The second round of Polish-Swedish plenary talks, chaired by Tadeusz Olechowski and Sten Andersson, was held at the Foreign Ministry's building this morning. Both ministers devoted a considerable part of these talks international questions, particularly problems of cooperation in Europe and implementation of decisions of the Vienna CSCE meeting. The idea to convene a conference of Baltic states to examine cooperation in all areas, including protection of natural environment, emerged during the talks.

The exchange of views covered also regional conflicts, including the situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East. Both ministers stated with concern that evolution of the situation in Afghanistan could exert a disadvantageous influence on the way of solving conflicts in other parts of the world.

Immediately after the talks, Olechowski and Andersson signed three agreements between the Governments of Poland and the Kingdom of Sweden. The signing of the first of them, the agreement on the demarcation of the continental shelf and the fishing zones, ends almost 10-year negotiations on this question.

The signing of this agreement made it possible to sign another one, on delimitation of regions of combating pollution in the Baltic, which is an appropriate implementation of the 1974 multi-lateral convention on the protection of the Baltic waters. The third signed agreement on legal assistance in penal questions is of particular significance in the context of the growing tourist traffic between Poland and Sweden.

I had very useful and fruitful talks during my visit here, Minister Andersson said at a meeting with Swedish and Polish journalists.

Andersson said that Swedish-Polish relations were not as good as they should be. We have a common interest and a need to strive to improve our relations on many planes. Economic cooperation should be a good foundation to develop them. The 1989 visits to Sweden by representatives of the Polish Government will be an opportunity to hold talks on these and other topics. There is a need for meetings, talks and the exchange of views of that kind.

Concludes Talks; Departs 11 Feb

LD1102142389 Warsaw PAP in English 1348 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 11—Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs Sten Andersson ended today his official visit to Poland paid at the invitation of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

The visit was an expression of seeking to practical possibilities of development of the Polish-Swedish relations in various spheres. [sentence as received]

Minister Andersson met today with Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

In the afternoon the Swedish guest was bidden farewell by Minister Olechowski and left Poland.

Swiss Foreign Minister Felber on Official Visit

AU1002125889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 7

[PAP report: "Switzerland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Arrives in Poland"]

[Excerpt] Switzerland is becoming an important political and economic partner for our country. The official visit that Rene Felber, the Swiss minister of foreign affairs, is paying to Poland at the invitation of Tadeusz Olechowski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, reflects both countries' desire to raise bilateral relations to a higher level.

This is also the first official visit to our country by a Swiss foreign minister in the history of postwar contacts between our two states.

R. Felber and his wife were met at Warsaw's Okecie Airport on 6 February by T. Olechowski and his wife.

On the same day plenary talks, chaired by the two ministers, were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters. The whole range of bilateral relations was discussed during them. Both ministers agreed that a form of permanent political dialogue should be established. Satisfaction was expressed with the development of economic and financial cooperation, and the growth in the value of trade between Poland and Switzerland was stressed. Minister Olechowski proposed that the two states expand cooperation in the environmental protection field and the training of managerial personnel. Minister Felber received the proposal with interest. They also discussed mass media cooperation.

The two ministers reviewed the current international situation, noting with satisfaction positive trends in the form of progress on disarmament and the resolution of regional conflicts. They discussed issues pertaining to East-West relations and opportunities for cooperation on the European continent at length.

In the evening Tadeusz Olechowski gave a dinner for Rene Felber and his wife. The two ministers delivered speeches. [passage omitted]

Head of Polish-Soviet Trade Body Interviewed

AU0802134589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Tadeusz Zylkowski, chairman of the Polish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, by Tomasz Bartoszewicz: "Direct Contacts With Enterprises"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Bartoszewicz] On behalf of Poland, you have signed an agreement with V. I. Valkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, to set up a Polish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry. What will this agreement give?

[Zylkowski] Our primary purpose was to create the right organizational conditions for an increase in direct contacts between Polish and Soviet enterprises. In order for this to happen, it is essential to guarantee an essential transfer of information and seek out partners who are able to cooperate with one another. That is the main purpose of the Polish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry. [passage omitted]

[Bartoszewicz] Where will the chamber be situated?

[Zylkowski] In Warsaw. It will be a Polish legal entity, with its own statute adopted by the General Assembly. The draft statute calls for a self-governing structure consisting of the following bodies: a General Assembly, Presidium, and Auditing and Control Commission. The chairman and co-chairman will be elected directly by the General Assembly. We have agreed that the chairman will be a Polish citizen and the co-chairman a Soviet citizen.

[Bartoszewicz] When will the General Assembly meet?

[Zylkowski] Toward the end of March, in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

[Bartoszewicz] Finally, will the new Polish-Soviet chamber have any departments outside Warsaw?

[Zylkowski] It will have a representation in Moscow and missions in several republics, first of all in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Moldavia. We plan to open missions in every major industrial and economic center in the USSR.

Opinion Poll Findings on Polish-Soviet Relations

AU0902172789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Feb 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Center for Public Opinion Research Poll: How We View Polish-Soviet Relations"]

[Text] The current state of Polish-Soviet relations was described as good by 63.9 percent of respondents in a poll conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research and as neither good nor bad by 27.1 percent of respondents. Every 12th person polled (8.1 percent) considered the state of relations bad, and the remainder had no clear opinion on the matter.

The center asked: "In your opinion has anything changed in Polish-Soviet relations?" More than half the respondents (53.2 percent) replied in the affirmative and 45 percent replied in the negative.

Should something change in them? Yes, was the answer given by 64.8 percent of those polled and no, the answer given by 30.3 percent.

Asked to give concrete examples of what has changed in Polish-Soviet relations, respondents most frequently cited: the elimination of blank spots and speaking the truth about Polish-Soviet relations (19.9 percent), open and frank information about what is happening in Poland and the Soviet Union (8.7 percent), and economic cooperation, trade, and economic partnership—6.4 percent. The last area was the most frequently mentioned (22.4 percent) when respondents were asked what should change about Polish-Soviet relations.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With Romania

AU1002184289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 7

[PAP report: "Economic Cooperation With Romania"]

[Text] A trade protocol between the Polish and Romanian Governments on mutual goods deliveries and payments in 1989 has been signed in Warsaw, the culmination of the guidelines adopted during the coordination of both countries' economic plans. It involves R765 million worth of goods.

Poland will export to Romania, among other things, mining and construction machines and equipment, electrical goods, technical equipment, "Wola" and "Leyland" engines, control and measuring apparatus, and electronic calculating equipment.

Poland will import from Romania lathes, drills, steel housing for mining machines, enameled equipment for the pharmaceutical industry, machines for light industry, and ball bearings. Romania will preserve its reputation as an important supplier of railroad coal wagons and locomotives for the Polish State Railroad. From Romania we will buy considerable quantities of metal goods, chemicals, gasoline, and the following commodities for the construction industry: cardboard, tiles, bathtubs, and sinks. Romanian furniture will appear on our market.

The agreement was signed for Poland by Stanislaw Amanowicz, vice minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation; and for Romania by Stefan Stancu, vice minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Romanian ambassador Ion Tesu was present.

Lithuanian Rally Involves Russians, Poles

LD1402230289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Around 100,000 inhabitants of the Vilnius region took part in a rally in the square in front of the Vilnius sports palace organized by the Unity [Jednosc] Social Movement as a protest against the resolution by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree proclaiming the Lithuanian language the state language in Lithuania. The rally was dominated by Poles and Russians. Evaluating this decree as one infringing human rights, they demanded the introduction of a multilingual system, taking into account the interests of the Russian and Polish population as well.

Interior Ministry Spokesman Corrects Statement

LD1002223589 Warsaw PAP in English 2029 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—The spokesman for Poland's Ministry of Internal Affairs today introduced a correction into his yesterday's statement for the POLISH PRESS AGENCY. Wojciech Garstka said the proportion of policemen in France, the FRG, Denmark and Poland he was quoting was the ratio per 100,000 population instead of 10,000. Thus in Poland the number of policemen per 100,000 population is 170, compared to 309 in France, 280 in the FRG, and 215 in Denmark.

Iranian President To Visit 'Late February'

AU1402191489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/2/1989—Upon the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, will pay an official visit to Romania in late February 1989.

Andrei Meets With Iranian Deputy Minister

LD1002220089 Tehran IRNA in English 2012 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, Feb 10, IRNA—Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad-Javad Larijani received Deputy Prime Minister of Romania Stefan Andrei here today.

Larijani and the visiting Romanian official reviewed Iran-Romania relations and business, industrial and trade exchanges between the two countries.

Romania has bid for a long-term economic agreement in principle with Iran.

The Romanian official is here on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Contribution to Budapest Liberation Viewed

AU1402162689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Feb 89 p 5

["Everlasting Deeds of Soldierly Heroism—the 44th Anniversary of the Liberation of Budapest"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Forty-four years ago Romanian soldiers, together with Soviet troops, fought with unequaled intensity and bravery to free the Hungarian capital from fascism. Thus, 13 February 1945 went down in history as a triumph in the peoples' great efforts to bring an end to the most terrible holocaust in history. [passage omitted]

The qualities of the Romanian soldiers and their will to win proved to be stronger than the difficulties they were facing; they fought for each street and each house—and often for each room—by launching bold attacks and by beating off the frequent counterattacks of the enemy. [passage omitted] However, they paid dearly for their advance, meter by meter, because of the 36,000 soldiers directly involved in the battle for Budapest every third Romanian soldier was killed, wounded, or missing. [passage omitted]

In the battle for Budapest, the Romanian soldiers excellently proved that what drove and inspired them in their struggle was the fervent desire to crush fascism and remove the threat it posed to peace and peoples' freedom. This is why in Budapest—as in fact in their struggle throughout Hungary—our soldiers came to the assistance of the residents with everything at their disposal to put an end to their suffering a bit earlier and to heal the many and merciless wounds of the war. In Budapest, as in each of the 1,237 settlements they liberated throughout Hungary, the Romanian soldiers—through their deeds and highly humane gestures—were entitled to the recognition and appreciation of the Hungarian population, who, as a letter sent to a Romanian military unit read, "came to love the Romanian soldiers and to view them as friends." [passage omitted]

Through their valiant deeds and their humane actions, the Romanian soldiers indeed heightened the greatness of the victory won, while time, the supreme judge of all human actions, has added new meanings and new dimensions to Romania's participation in the liberation of Budapest, the whole of Hungary, and to the final victory over fascism. We should always stress what cannot and must never be forgotten, that we cannot seperate ourselves from the bloody days of 1944-45, when tens of thousands of sons of the Romanian people shunned no sacrifice to free Budapest.

Novelties in Software, Programming Equipment

AU1502082889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0747 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/2/1989—The "Electromures" enterprise of Tirgu-Mures started to produce a high-tech and highly productive equipment—"Epac-2." It is an improved model of computer-assisted programming of machine tools, which proves efficient and easy-to-handle while obtaining the perforated tape needed in programming the machine tools. The new equipment provides for a rapid application of data and the storage of programmes on disks, thus making them reusable.

In Romania computer technology is used ever more, beside economic administration, in an operative management of production, in research, design, control of the quality of products and in the optimization of technological solutions. A genuine software industry has also developed in Romania. The national software library under the computer technology institute in Bucharest delivered last year 13,500 programmes the application of which was conducive to hundreds of million lei savings in the 480 units they benefited.

The Romanian programmes for computer-assisted design—Pix, Isolda, Artis—are exported to the GDR and the FRG, the operating system mix to Czechoslovakia, Austria and People's China, and other applicative programmes to People's China and India. Romanian specialists are working on programmes for flexible lines and industrial robots of the third generation, on expert systems (new programming languages) computer-assisted instruction programmes, and others.

LCY Presidium Establishes Tasks for Session

AU1402193889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] At a session chaired by Stipe Suvar, the LCY Central Committee Presidium endorsed an operative program for the Central Committee, the Presidium, and their working bodies in the implementation of the conclusions of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee. The program will be proposed to the Central Committee at its next session on 17 February.

In line with the tasks established at the 20th session, the basic directions of the activity of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium, and their working bodies, as well as other (organs and organizations) of the LC will be aimed above all at the consistent and immediate implementation of economic reform, the reform of the political system, the reform of the LC, and at a Yugoslav synthesis of interests and concepts of the development of society on the basis of socialist self-management, which will ensure that differences and conflicts over key questions in finding a way out of the crisis are overcome in a democratic way.

Activity will also be directed at preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, a deep-rooted cadre renewal of the LC, the resolution of people's social and other problems, and the realization of the LC tasks on Kosovo. Specific tasks with completion deadlines and the proponents of the work have been determined.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also discussed other preparations for the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee, which will decide on changes in the composition of the Central Committee and its Presidium, analyze material on preparations for the 14th congress, and adopt changes and amendments to decisions on bases for determining the amount of LC membership fees.

Dizdarevic, Loncar Attend Summit Preparations

AU1302164689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The ninth nonaligned summit, scheduled to be held in Belgrade next September, will not be, nor can it be, a routine summit. This was stated by Raif Dizdarevic at the first meeting of the Yugoslav committee for organizing the summit. In a discussion that lasted several hours, the participants spoke about the most important political questions concerning the summit preparations. Here is a report by Milorad Denda:

The top federal, republican, and provincial officials and prominent scientific and political workers and businessmen which constitute the Yugoslav committee paid particular attention to several questions: How should Yugoslavia organize this most important international meeting in the world this year in the best possible way? What is the nature of and how noticeable are the changes in the world and international relations? What are the most important factors in the preparations and meetings held so far? What are the priorities? Here is what Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency and president of the Yugoslav committee, said:

[Begin Dizdarevic recording] The fact that Yugoslavia will be the host of the ninth nonaligned summit and the chairman of the nonaligned countries in the period 1989-92 is of great importance for our international position, the international affirmation of our country, and for the realization of the SFRY's interests in its relations with the world. This importance is not a kind of importance that will only last from today until tomorrow, and not only today and tomorrow; it is a kind of importance that will last over a long period of time. The confidence with which Yugoslavia has been entrusted is the result of the continuity in our contribution to the movement and of the consistent international activities based on nonaligned policies.

These activities are policies that earned Yugoslavia its international reputation and influence, which greatly exceeded all its other capabilities. Of course, the role of host and chairman is a great obligation and responsibility, and we have to involve ourselves in everything necessary in order to meet this great obligation. This will also be a great opportunity for Yugoslavia to preserve the values of its international position under new circumstances in the world, circumstances that are changing rapidly, and under conditions in which our internal difficulties have already adversely affected our international standing, which is to say under conditions in which our total credibility in the world has been significantly eroded.

I would say that as far as Yugoslavia's international position and activities are concerned, we already feel a positive influence from the fact that we will host the summit and be chairman of the Nonaligned Movement. This is a very important factor in foreign partners' interests in Yugoslavia, contacts with Yugoslavia, and cooperation in some fields. [end recording]

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, presented an analysis of world trends stressing the necessity for the movement, after the justifiable challenge of bipolarization, to turn toward the strategy of building and linking up the interests of the developed and undeveloped world, the North and the South.

[Begin Loncar recording] The summit should be a summit that is up to the changes in the world and the vision of, of course, further trends. On the basis of these trends, we should define our role, our presence, and offer our views, which should represent the most realistic synthesis of the interests of all factors of international relations. [end recording]

Dzevad Mujezinovic, president of the FEC's commission for preparing the summit, spoke about significant organizational obligations, saying that some 6,000 people and journalists are expected to take part in the summit. He also said that one should make sure that this summit is a working and dignified gathering that is in line with the anticipated costs. He also spoke about the need to help Belgrade in the comprehensive preparations, as well as those work organizations and services without which such a meeting would be impossible.

Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade committee for preparing the summit, spoke about the activities which have taken place in the capital city so far. [passage omitted]

Further on Plans

LD1302212589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—Entrusting Yugoslavia with the role of host of the nonaligned conference is of great importance for its international status and its interests and reputation in the world, SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic said at the first session of the Yugoslav committee for the preparation of the conference. [passage omitted]

Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar emphasized the need for political preparations. Repeating the already known stands about the historic role and aims of the Nonaligned Movement, he went on to describe the movement as being "an independent global factor which stimulates the democratization of international relations." [passage omitted]

The modernization of the movement, according to Loncar, demands a new formualtion of world perspectives with full respect for the changes in the world. The federal secretary also pointed to the need for a greater flexibility of the movement, something that can be expressed appropriately through a more wide-ranging and tolerant interpretation of the term consensus. Elaborating on the nature of consensus, the federal secretary said that it is an expression of democracy and that it should remain so, but that it should not be misused.

Loncar also stressed the need for greater efficiency, which can find its expression in shorter documents and simpler procedures. Speaking about some of the present dilemmas within the movement, he stated that the idea about "the institutionalization" of the movement had not been accepted, that is, it had been rejected. Generally speaking, he said, the question of the efficiency of the movement and of keeping its democratic spirit has become more urgent.

Among the significant tasks in the preparations for the summit, the federal secretary included formulating the platform of the ninth summit, a draft declaration, and some other final resolutions. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Provincial Committee Session Held

LD1402012089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—There has been open economic crisis in this country for an entire decade already and it has spread to all areas of social life. This crisis gets deeper and deeper from year to year, despite all the measures undertaken to combat it up to now. It is precisely this that leads one to the conclusion that it is vital to carry out a fundamental reform of the socioeconomic system to begin on a way out of the crisis. This was stated today in an introductory speech at the third session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee by Dr Dragoje Zarkovic. The session is focusing on the immediate tasks of the Vojvodina LC in the implementation of the reform of the economic system. [passage omitted]

Speaking at length about the reform of the socioeconomic system and the possibilities presented by the new federal law on enterprises, Dr Dragoje Zarkovic expressed the opinion that the reform should be started first of all in the sphere of ideology, that is, that we must free ourselves from utopian and dogmatic attitudes about socialism and the paths for building it. After this, in his opinion, should follow the reform of the political system, which should enable the development of true democracy, based on pluralism of interests and a pluralism of political options in setting the program for resolving social problems.

Speaking about the implementation of the three reforms—in the economic and political system and in the LCY—as a condition for a way out of the crisis, Zarkovic noted that the difficulty lies in the fact that the reform of the political system had been postponed until the adoption of a new constitution, for which at least (?3) years is necessary. [passage omitted]

Zarkovic spoke in praise of the new regulations on foreign investments in our country and the attraction of foreign capital, which will give a boost to the Yugoslav economy. This is even more the case since Yugoslavia has a very significant comparative advantage for foreign investors. But, he noted, we lack political stability, which in recent months has been seriously shaken because our national bureaucracies [naciokratija], which earlier applied the principle "divide and rule," now apply the principle "create quarrels and rule," to remain in power.

They are spreading ideas in our two most developed republics, Zarkovic added, about the alleged danger from Greater Serbian nationalism, which also has very unfavorable consequences on their economies. [passage omitted] This, warned Zarkovic, indicates that the resistence of the national bureaucracies to the democratic renewal of our society needs to be broken as soon as possible. Unless this happens there is no way out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

In his report, Jovan Jica said that the LCY congress alone can establish programmatic and statutory solutions whereby the LCY will be a united organization and not a league of communists of national and republican LC organizations. Goran Latinovic warned that without resolving the political crisis in Yugoslavia and taking a clear attitude toward ideological discords the economic reform will gain no success.

We must say in a clear and loud voice, he stressed, that we do not need political struggles but rather a clear and solid political program of energetic measures for solving the political and economic crisis. [passage omitted]

In the discussion on cadre renewal and the choice of the respresentative of the Vojvodina LC in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, Dusko Mirkov, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, noted that at the 20th LCY Central Committee session eight resignations of LCY Central Committee members from the Vojvodina LC were adopted and new people elected to these posts. Only Petar Matic has neither tendered his resignation nor been relieved of membership in the LCY Central Committee. He recalled that at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC memberhip. Hence, the Vojvodina Communists demand that Petar Matic be relieved of his duties as a member of this highest LCY organ at the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee, since it was assessed that his conduct impaired the unity of action and the reputation of the LCY and, therefore, he is no longer capable of successfully carrying out his function as a member of the LCY Central Committee and acting in line with the adopted policy of the LCY, Serbian LC, and Vojvodina LC. Vidosav Petrovic criticized Petar Matic's behavior and that of some other LCY Central Committee members, who did not allow young Sinisa Batalo to say in public what he thinks of the conduct of some LCY members who long ago lost their political legitimacy. It is supported by those presiding at that session, particularly by Comrade Korosec. This is, in Petrovic's words, a kind of political bureaucratism.

Petrovic wanted to know why Petar Matic was so politically and morally impudent at the 20th LCY Central Committee session as to present the general public with such an irresponsible statement as: "It is allegedly Serbs alone who are spotless." In whose name and with what aim was this sting launched when great efforts are under way to create the so badly needed unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia, Petrovic asked. He added: Is it his nostalgia and that of his fellow travelers for the adopted policy they have been leading over the years?

Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said in connection with this that Petar Matic was speaking exclusively on his own behalf and that he could speak after the Vojvodina Communists and the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC denied him confidence. He recalled that the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium energetically demanded that at the next session of the LCY Central Committee the working group should decide and propose to the LCY Central Committee that Petar Matic be relieved of his LCY membership.

At today's session, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee established through public voting two candidates for the post of LCY Central Committee Presidium member from the Vojvodina LC, out of whom one will be nominated as the replacement for Bosko Krunic, whose resignation was nominated earlier. Sinisa Batalo, member of the LCY Central Committee from Pancevo was proposed for this high function.

The Provincial Committee adopted two candidates for the vacated post in the LCY Central Committee to be occupied by a member of the Vojvodina LC; that is to replace Petar Matic, who was to be relieved of his duties at the next LCY Central Committee session. Rajko Popovic from Kikinda and Svetozar Krstic from Odzaci were nominated. The Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC elected the members of the Vojvodina LC delegation to the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP.

The Provincial Committee adopted a draft program of the work to be executed by the time the 19th Vojvodina LC Conference convenes.

Markovic Talks With Serbian Leaders About FEC

LD1302211089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, mandatory for the composition of the new FEC, talked today in the SR of Serbia about the preparations for the work and composition of the FEC. Petar Gracanin, Slobodan Milosevic, Borisav Jovic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Desimir Jevtic took part in the talks.

Ante Markovic disclosed proposals for the concepts of the economic and social reforms, and for the program for resolving the crisis. There was reportedly full compatibility between the mandatory's approach to activities for emergence from the crisis and the concept which has been devised in the SR of Serbia. The SR of Serbia fully supports Ante Markovic in his formulation of the FEC program on this basis, and the cadre composition which will carry out this program.

Markovic Confers With Kosovo Presidency Members

AU1402162789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Ante Markovic, president-designate of the FEC, is on a working visit to Kosovo today. Preparations for the FEC's work program and the criteria for the election of members of the new government were discussed in talks in the Kosovo Presidency, which were attended by the most senior leaders in the province.

It was concluded that there is full agreement between the concept for finding a way out of the crisis which has been proposed by Ante Markovic and the concept which has been prepared in Kosovo. Kosovo gives full support to Ante Markovic in developing the FEC's work program on this basis.

During the talks, there was an exchange of opinions on the future composition of the FEC and the obligation of the province to offer cadres which will be able to responsibly carry out the tasks of the new government.

Ante Markovic was briefed on the economic situation in the province during the talks. It was said that all entities in Kosovo are supporting the resolute implementation of economic reform and point out the necessity to implement social policy and to protect the living standard of working people and citizens in Kosovo, it was stressed in the announcement.

Azemi Warns Against Nationalist Gatherings

LD0702161889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The political situation created by the gatherings and meetings of workers of the Albanian nationality is continuing to grow complicated. Such gatherings are damaging and lead to confrontations and to the edge of ruin, Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, warned today at a session of that forum.

Informing the Presidium members about the current situation, Azemi also stated that there existed a danger of parallel gatherings by workers and citizens of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, which would lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Azemi noted that despite assurances by management and political structures of Pristina work collectives that the political situation there is good, work stoppages have occured in several of them.

These events, in Azemi's words, show that this is a case of "knocking at an open door." In all environments, visits from the same officials are being called for. The decisions of the LCY Central Committee session are clear to everyone except those they do not suit. Next week, at a session of the provincial committee, we have decided to discuss assessments of the November events, which, it seems, have disturbed some individuals, said Azemi.

The majority of the working class is not nationalist, and no one has officially said that they are, but this does not mean that these gatherings are not organized and synchronized. Similarly, this does not mean that the organizers and instigators of these gatherings will not be held to account politically, and if there are other factors involved, they should also bear the consequences in some other way. We must see and distinguish whether some people want Stipe Suvar and other officials to visit them in their environment or whether they want something else, warned Azemi.

The Pristina LC Municipal Committee president noted that some confusion had also been caused by the fact that the list of organizers and instigators of the November gatherings and demonstrations by Albanians in Pristina had still not bee made public. He called for the responsible organs to make this list public in order to prevent suspicions about all directors or political workers.

Azemi pointed to the responsibility of the management structures in the work collectives for stabilizing the situation, and he stressed that those who are not capable of controlling the political situation should leave their posts.

The Pristina LC Municipal Committee, with certain criticisms, today proposed a list of possible candidates for membership in the municipal LC committees and Presidium of Kosovo Polje and Obilic, which are soon to become municipalities. It was agreed that the election for these party organs should be carried out by the end of this month.

The Presidium members concluded that at the next session it will also be essential to carry out cadre renewal in the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and its organs. It is planned, according to the adopted criteria, that about 18 Municipal Committee members will be replaced; that is one-third of its current membership.

Workers Demand Resignation of Morina, Azemi

AU1302174589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 1

[S.H. report: "Resignations of Morina and Azemi Demanded"]

[Text] Today was the "hottest" in the Ramiz Sadiku construction combine in Pristina, where more than 500 workers gathered together and refused to work. They demanded an additional explanation for some decisions adopted at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum and the forthcoming constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia. They were not satisfied with a detailed explanation given by Nazemi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council—who said that they were insufficiently informed about constitutional changes and that the Albanian nationality will not be affected by them at all—and continued their protest.

Several provocative questions were also asked. Several speeches tried to "excite" the present workers and even make them leave the factory premises. Every condemnation of Slobodan Milosevic was applauded. The workers particularly applauded the demands for the resignation

of Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC City Committee Presidium; and Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Ljubinko Misic, president of the combine's LC organization, responded to these and similar speeches, but his appeal remained isolated. Izet Sehu, president of the communal trade union organization, dissociated himself from such speeches as well.

The Leposavic Communal LC extended full support to the provincial leadership.

Belgrade LC Speeches Called 'Open Threat'
AU1302180789 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 89 p 5

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "The Chinese Syndrome in a Yugoslav Way"]

[Text] After the session of the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Belgrade LC City Committee, anybody who, being aware of the inevitable advance of democracy, harbored any illusions, will have to face the fact that Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was right when he said last year that some phenomena in our political life can only be likened to the Chinese "cultural revolution." The Chinese, who certainly had a richer history and civilization than we have, now say that that experiment pushed them back several decades.

Because of this, and even more so because of the social, political, economic, and social crisis in which we find ourselves, but also because of the world process of relieving tensions, it is a question of where compliance with the speeches made at the above mentioned session would lead us. Because what is involved is not any commission or any lower party organization. All this happened in Belgrade, Belgrade with its freedom-loving ideas, with its rich democratic tradition, and with its eternal tendency toward new cultural achievements.

To any reasonable person, the speeches one heard at this session represent at least an open threat to Yugoslavia. In order to avoid going too much into detail, we shall confine ourselves to some stances presented by sociologist Dr Mirjana Markovic, who is—let us tell the people who are not in the know—the wife of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia. Among other things, she said the following: "At this moment, meetings are even more influential than the LC. The organization is undergoing a crisis and meetings are characterized by tension. Their mobilizing force results from the simple fact that current and big problems can be solved at them."

When such words are uttered by someone holding a PhD in political science, then one asks whether claiming that meetings are a simple recipe for solving current and big problems is a scientific approach to societal phenomena. It would be interesting to hear Dr Markovic's explanation of how one can repay our foreign debts or solve the problem of the equally great internal debts; how one can arrive at a democratic atmosphere for discussing all the open questions pertaining to our development; and how one can solve the tension in interethnic relations, primarily in Kosovo and then in all of Yugoslavia. Should it be in the way that was ominously announced in Plav? Dr Markovic probably knows a secret formula for using meetings to start the better and higher production of surplus value or to catch the technological train into the 21st century that we have already missed.

Dr Mirjana Markovic does not want any doubt to be cast on her intentions. Without any hesitation, she connects the line that won at the eighth session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia with Tito's work, and says that those people who care about the ideals for which Tito fought should make an effort to make these ideals come true, instead of counting how many times his name was mentioned in the public speeches of politicians with whose policy they do not agree.

The final part of this "plea for a Yugoslav cultural revolution," as one could call Dr Mirjana Markovic's speech at that session, is certainly most significant. According to her, "Revolution is on one side and procedure on the other, and revolution always wins over procedure at the end." Therefore, according to the Belgrade sociologist, calls to obey institutions sound like political cynicism when one knows that their failure to function made the people go out into the street.

The three reforms announced in the document of the First LCY Conference and the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, reinforced by the conclusions of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee, mean nothing to Dr Mirjana Markovic, and obviously not only to her. She has her concept of finding the way out of the crisis, which finally leads back into the balkanization of our country, because it is obvious that "those people who cannot learn from history have to repeat it."

Rebuttal by Belgrade Radio
AU0902214489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] Under the title "The Chinese Syndrome in the Yugoslav Way," Zagreb VJESNIK in its issue today carries a commentary in which, using the method of quotations out of context, seriously accuses the members of the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Belgrade City LC Committee of an alleged open threat to Yugoslavia. The target of the so-called sharp VJESNIK pen is in fact the discussion on the ideological aspects of the implementation of the social reform held

at an expanded session of the commission. The newspaper calls it a plea for a Yugoslav cultural revolution. Zivojin Jerotijevic says in this connection:

All the means are allowed in the political struggle of opinions, Nicolo Machiavelli said, and he particularly recommended blows below the belt. The same armory offers the rule that you first present a fierce thesis, which you then attack even more fiercely, best and (?most efficiently) with distorted quotations by the adversary pulled out of context.

Using precisely this method, the VJESNIK commentary (?says that) the speeches heard at the session of the commission held on Tuesday [7 February] constitute at the very least an open threat to Yugoslavia. What a peculiar sense of identification! A criticism of the political, national, and any other bureaucratic counterrevolution is transformed by the VJESNIK commentator, Solomonlike, into an open threat to Yugoslavia. For him, bureaucracy obviously equals Yugoslavia.

The peak of political (?distortion), not to use a worse term, is manifested by the VJESNIK commentator in his attempt to prove and to support his thesis—which is basically monstrous—with selected quotations from the opening speaker at that session, informing those who may not know that the speaker was the wife of the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia. A conclusion is thus suggested to those who may not know, in keeping with the folk saying that one scolds the daughter to reproach the daughter-in-law.

Of course, this perfectly fits the fabrication about the existence of two designs, a progressive and liberal democratic design, and a backward neo-Stalinist one, the latter attracting labels—as one could recently hear—such as anschluss, pogrom, and purges. No evidence is offered except an extremely suspicious and disputed telegram from an unregistered meeting in Lovcenac.

What is more, one coolly passes over the fact that individuals who were breaking the unity of Serbia with their autonomist and separatist policy, denounced by the people, had to leave the political scene, and more will have to go. It is also important that not one of them was banished or sent to exile. No post-Dachau or any similar rehabilitation processes will be needed [allusion to the "Dachau trials" in Slovenia in 1948 in which communists—former Nazi concentration camp inmates—were convicted of collaborating with the Nazis; they were rehabilitated in 1971]. They are here, among us, and not a hair on anyone has been harmed.

All this is unimportant to the properly briefed VJESNIK commentator. He carries on, despite the facts. Blinded in this way, the commentator accuses the opening speaker at the session of the Belgrade City LC Committee Ideological Commission of offering a concept for the way out of the crisis that leads to a Balkanization of our region. As evidence of the retrograde nature of such a concept, he pulls out the speaker's quotation about the mobilizing force of meetings and their ability to solve current and major problems.

The quotation is in fact correct, but it has been essentially shortened and is incomplete. What was, we may say, tendentiously omitted is the portion in which the opening speaker actually says that the LC organization must become the place where current problems may be solved at least like at a meeting, or, the LC must become the place where current problems may be solved so that they will not be solved at meetings.

It is obvious that meetings are considered an alternative solution when the system institutions including the LC fail to function. The mission for making the system institutions, primarily the LC, function properly is more than clear. This is obvious to everybody except the VJESNIK commentator. Either his political vision is not sharp enough or it was set in this way.

Serbian Events Regarded 'Much Too Leniently'

AU1402130389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Secretaries Fly to Heaven"]

[Text] Perhaps no historical parallels are necessary, but they are actually inevitable in a state in which the politicians can call hardly anything by its proper name (or at least make catastrophically long delays in naming it). We may say that "Chinese tones" are in favor this week, the tones that the great pragmatist Deng Xiaoping was convinced more than 10 years ago were obsolete everywhere in the world; the reason for their suddenly coming into prominence is a meeting of the ideological commission of the Belgrade party committee, at which the adherents of the Serbian nationalist movement again demonstrated that they have great political ambitions and that they will not be choosy about the means to implement them.

The idea of a kind of a Yugoslav "cultural revolution" was definitely launched last Tuesday on the Serbian scene, which is full of most varied contradictions anyhow; this is the idea to greatly rearrange the state according to the model of complete lawlessness and according to recipes that can only lead to deep social conflicts, and probably to undreamed of terror as well. We would not want to frighten anybody, for socialism is obviously a social system in which bad things always occur by themselves in great abundance, but everything that happened in the Belgrade party committee on Tuesday caused great concern and was one more proof that we had been regarding the events in Serbia much too leniently from the very beginning. It was plainly said at the Tuesday session that the legal institutions, including the party, do not perform their functions any longer, and that they should therefore be replaced by "the subjective will of the masses..."

There is probably no need to especially point out the fact that this demand is close to the well-known Stalinist principle—the individual is nothing, the masses are everything—for it is well known that this rule has been the ideological cloak for all of the totalitarian regimes so far, and that in China it led to the greatest social abuses known in modern history. It is only surprising that this rule could appear in our country at a time when it seemed we had overcome the worst pressure of real socialism. Are we really doomed to be destroyed? Can socialism really not be democratized in any way? Is Bolshevism a kind of curse that cannot be resisted and that descends on people for all times to come? The fact is that these demands were spoken in the Belgrade party committee not just by anyone, or perhaps by some anonymous persons about whom it may be said, "forgive them, for they know now what they do," but were uttered by some of the most influential members of the Serbian leadership, the introductory speech having been delivered by Dr Mirjana Markovic, Slobodan Milosevic's wife.

Of course, we could not care less about who is who in the Milosevic family, although her appearance definitely launched the "wife-ideologist" image onto the Serbian political stage, and the entire political scene thus acquired even deeper Chinese tones or was enriched by a new element known by the controversial name, "Jiang Qing..." Of course we can only guess what brought the Belgrade party organization to this radicalization, but there is probably no doubt that at least one of the causes lies in the realization that the Serbian movement is creaking, and that only a renewed forceful politization may save it from stagnation (and thus from disintegration), and in such politicization, calls to destroy state institutions and the constitutional system are quite acceptable to some strata of people. In this way, the Serbian leadership is strongly approaching the option which has been only theoretical in most of the socialist states and which can be understood within the context of the well-known predictions that all great authoritarian regimes will take care of a "complete social disintegration" before they disintegrate themselves.

Of course, it is possible to stop the course of events, particularly if one clearly says what is what in present Serbian politics. This is easier now that the shape of the Serbian "cultural revolution" is quite recognizable: The masses are extremely politicized; legitimate institutions are falling; people having the most suspicious moral and political qualities are coming to the surface during the cadre renewal; and the first corpses have appeared, such as the corpse of Miladin Visekruna, Petrovaradin party secretary. Only a few minor details are still lacking, such as perhaps revolutionary courts or labor camps, and the picture would be complete. If we bear in mind some demands for the criminal prosecution of former officials and the demands that they be deprived of their pensions, or that at least their years of service be cut, some of these things may yet come....

Slovene Presidium Advocates Monitoring Proposals

LD1302232889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium today advocated the organized monitoring of all proposals made by the LC membership. Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, believes that regulations and other acts should precisely envision the attitude and obligations of leaderships toward the initiatives of the membership and basic LC organizations, and in this way restrict the monopoly of the leaderships to make initiatives and proposals.

The greater influence and role of LC members should be ensured in the adoption of decisions. At the same time, responsibility for their realization should be increased. The president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium believes that the attitude of leaders toward initiatives from the membership would be changed in an important way by the introduction of direct relations for all leaders in the Slovene LC. [passage omitted]

Ljubljana, Slovene Youth Disagreement Aired

AU1402123289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 4

[Veselin Simonovic report: "League of Socialist Youth as 'Mini' SAWP"]

[Text] Should the League of Socialist Youth develop into a party or not, and could it do it? This is the main question which the members of the Ljubljana Youth Organization and the republican youth officials—who had the support of a fairly large number of the conference members—argued over at the last session of the Republican Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia.

The members of the city organization were of the opinion that the Presidium's document entitled "For Democracy," which was the reason for the confrontation, completely changes the present organization and that it aspires to turn the League of Socialist Youth into a party, and that the youth as such cannot constitute a party (in addition, many of them were of the opinion that the future lies in nonparty political pluralism). The republican youth officials claimed that they did not state in the document that they wanted to turn the League of Socialist Youth into a party, but that they only stated that "nobody can ban or prescribe parties." They also spoke about the principle of being a front organization, which the organization has been successfully building since the Krsko congress, and said that this principle has exhausted all its opportunities and that in the newly created situation characterized by political pluralism the youth organization must organize itself in a different way and adopt different attitudes. Since it is difficult to repudiate either argument, the inevitable question is whether the existence of the League of Socialist Youth is sensible under present conditions at all.

Imposed Representative of the People

Before a possible answer is given to the above-mentioned question it is necessary to present the "contentious" document entitled "For Democracy." The document states that the place of authority is, in principle, vacant and that those who are elected to that place in a democratic way are the necessary, legitimate, but only temporary and imposed representatives of the people. Since this place is therefore a priori undefined, the document states, everybody has the right to fight for it in a democratic way. The struggle for power is, the document adds, the basic political feature of every democratic society. The Slovene youth organization intends to join in that struggle. The first condition for it (the struggle for power) to be waged at all is the final rejection of the discriminatory and undemocratic privileged position of one social and political entity. "If the LC is not a priori and automatically a vanguard, then it does to the so-called workers class is not either...the only solution for the members of the 'workers class' is to become equal citizens, while for the LC it is to become a party among parties." The struggle for power, the document explains, is not interpreted in the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia to simply mean that the youth wants to assume the power. "We are not concerned too much about power, but about installing a legitimate authority. We strive for the full affirmation of political pluralism. Whether it comes from parties or not, is not our nor anybody else's problem."

"Front" and "umbrella" organizations are only an indicator of how warped the existing quasi-political system is. This refers in particular to the SAWP and to some extent to the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. This is why it was said that the temporary front character of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia is no longer productive and that a profound reform of the youth organization is therefore unavoidable. The document also states that the organization favors pluralism in Yugoslavia as a whole. "For us, nationality is a value, and 'brotherhood and unity' can only be the full affirmation of every nationality rather than a project of their elevation on some 'higher' super-national 'Yugoslav' level which consequently leads to a flood of nationalism. In fact, unity represents only the affirmation of differences."

The basic elements of a democratic political system, according to the authors of this document, are political pluralism, communal democracy, and trade unions pluralism, something that should also be the aim of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. The document briefly explains how a true democracy ought to function. "At the communal level we propose a one-house assembly whose members would be elected through direct elections. The communal assembly would itself elect delegates to the communal chamber of the republican assembly. The delegates of the republican assembly would also be elected through direct elections.... The term of office in the communes and republic would be 4 years. The mandate could be extended indefinitely. Delegates posts would be professional posts. Executive organs in the assembly would be formed by the majority group in the assembly.

President From Coalition—Vice President From Opposition

The Presidency of Slovenia would be questioned and its duties would be transferred to the assembly and the president who would, in addition to performing presidential duties, also be in charge of defense [sentence as published]. The president would be elected by the assembly, and his term of office would be 5 years with a possibility of being reelected only once. The federal assembly would be a bicamerial assembly and would be comprised of the chamber of republics and provinces and the general chamber which would consist of an equal number of delegates who would be elected through direct elections within their republics. The delegates of the chamber of republics and provinces would be elected by the republican assemblies.... The duties of the federation would be determined by the federal constitution on the basis of republican constitutions. We do not see any reason for the prevention of the decentralization of federal organs. The president of the assembly would be from the ranks of the ruling majority coalition, while the vice president would come from the opposition.

This document should also serve as a platform for the youth congress which will probably be held in Slovenia this fall. However, since the differences have not been overcome, the youth leadership of Slovenia decided in favor of only five demands and proposals that were supported by everybody in principle: "We demand the right of free political association of citizens and trade union pluralism. We demand general, direct, and secret ballot elections at which everybody would compete for power under the same conditions. Since the new conditions require the youth organization itself to change, it will be necessary for the organization to take a different view on its development and status. These changes will need to be verified at the congress and hence the congress date should immediately be announced. The congress should determine the strategy for the next elections. In view of the present changes in the republican constitution, one must create as much political scope as possible. At the same time one must start on drafting a new Slovene constitution. The youth organization intends to draft its platform—which it will later defend in a debate—for the new, unburdened team which would be in charge of drafting the constitution.

Generation's Party

The kind of organization that the Slovene youth opts for will therefore be shown by the discussion. However, one can see from the document that the republican youth

leadership—although this is not explicitly stated—strives for political pluralism and that there are many of those who would like to see the League of Socialist Youth as a party.

It is more than logical that the League of Socialist Youth cannot constitute itself as a party. No party can be built on the principle of a given generation, this does not exist anywhere. This is presumably why some views emerged in the broadest youth leadership of Slovenia that the next step of the League of Socialist Youth should be to "spread its legitimate basis." Accepting the name of the League of Socialist Youth would in that case have to be justified with some advantages. The youth organization has certain advantages at present. These advantages, as the head of Slovene youth Joze Skoljc said, lie in the organizational apparatus, media, a certain reputation, and a relatively developed culture in the reaching of agreements. This would then have to constitute some kind of transitional solution because at present there not even formal conditions for founding parties exist.

If it really turns out that all, or at least the majority of Slovene youths, are in favor of the demands and proposals that were adopted by the Conference, then the leadership could get the broadest grass roots support for the program which could put these demands into practice. The moment this program is realized and political pluralism becomes our reality (which is the aim of these demands), the question of the existence of the League of Socialist Youth will become topical again.

In case political pluralism is institutionalized, the League of Socialist Youth as a nonparty organization would become superfluous because in that case the interests would, at least this is what is envisaged, be directly expressed. The youth organization would in that case play a role of some "mini" or "young" SAWP. If on the other hand the development took the course of political pluralism, which is difficult to believe at present, the League of Socialist Youth would—since it cannot be a party—play the role of some "mini" or "young" parliament.

The aim of the Slovene youth leadership is certainly neither of these two.

Slovene Democratic Alliance Issues Demands

LD1402220689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 14 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Social Democratic Alliance (SSDA) will advocate a parliamentary system enabling various political parties, organisations and alliances to put forward their own candidates, the SSDA said in a programme statement released here today.

The SSDA, whose founding assembly is due on February 16, made clear is was an "autonomous political organization" which did not want to operate within the Socialist Alliance (SA), the mass political organisation, as long as the party enjoyed a monopoly and a privileged position in it.

The SSDA said it also could not accept the SA's provisions binding all members to unify programmes and positions because this practice prevented the realisation of different political interests.

Recently a public debate on introducing political pluralism has been conducted in Yugoslavia with the aim of strengthening democratic trends in the country.

A number of alliances, forums and associations have sprung up within the SA and some of them, like the Slovene Democratic Alliance (SDA), advocate a multiparty system. However, such a system is incompatable with the present Constitution.

The SSDA said that one of its main tasks would be to draw up a new Slovenian constitution that would strictly guard the republic's sovereignty. This Constitution, it was said would be based on the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the covenants on civil and political rights and on documents of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

The new political organisation will demand the abolition of military courts, the use of Slovene in all units stationed in Slovenia, complete civilian jurisdiction over army financing and army professionalism and reduction.

Presidency Candidates Announced for Croatia

LD1402143689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, Ante Markovic, and Andjelko Runjic are the candidates of the Socialist Republic of Croatia for membership to the SFRY Presidency. They gained most the votes for delegates at today's republican candidate conference, which voted on a list of seven names for the post. Out of 195 members of the republican candidate conference, (?165) delegates attended.

Stipe Suvar received 141 votes, Ante Markovic 124, Andjelko Runjic 122, Tomislav Badinac 52, Velimir Srica 40, Zvonimir Hrabar 39, and Branko Horvat 22 votes.

The Federal SAWPY conference will also give its opinion on the established candidates, and the election of one member of the Presidency will be carried out on 15 April by the Croatian Assembly.

Work Stoppages in Croatia Up 22 Percent in 1988

LD1402152489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—According to data from the information service of the Croatian Trade Union Council, 499 work stoppages were registered in the republic last year, with 85,647 people taking part in them. This represents an increase in the number of work stoppages over the previous year of 22 percent.

Montenegrin Candidates for LCY Elected

LD1302161289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin LC Central Committee today elected nine candidates for seven positions as members of the LCY Central Committee from the LC of this republic. These are: Luka Vukic, Borivoje Kuc, Andrija Mikic, Musaja Pepic, Momcilo Knezevic, Dragan Mikovic, Radivoje Jokic, Dr Dragisa Ivanovic, and Slobodan Vkicevic.

On the list of candidates, which was voted on secretly, there were 12 names. Radoslav Bumbic, Nenad Bucin, and Danilo Vuksanovic were not elected as candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee.

Montenegro Central Committee Assesses Situation

LD1302201189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—The political situation in Montenegro, the smallest and one of Yugoslavia's least developed republics, is gradually stabilizing, it was assesed at today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro.

The Montenegrin state and party leadership resigned collectively on January 11 under pressure of mass demonstrations in which they were blamed for the very serious economic, political and social situation.

The political situation is still extremely difficult in the very poor Montenegrin commune of Plav, where a total ethnic polarisation has occured between Montenegrins on one side and Moslems and Albanians on the other, it was noted at the meeting.

Speakers in the debate warned that the broadest masses in the republic have become too politicized and great energy needed for resolving the problems in the economy is being lost in this way.

Besides urging the strengthening of democracy, speakers demanded that those who contributed to the expansion of national disunity be called to account not only as party members but made to bear criminal responsibility as well.

A draft document was adopted at the session for the preparation of the 10th special congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro in late April.

The participants also determined a list of five candidates for two Montenegrin members of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and a list of nine candidates for seven LCY Central Committee members.

LCY Central Committee member and President of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work Dr Radovan Radonjic informed the meeting that he was no longer able to perform these duties because his "political integrity has been rudely disputed" at some meetings and by certain media". [quotation marks as received] In his view, these attacks have even brought into question his membership in the LCY.

Further on Montenegro Session

LD1302221189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The political situation in Montenegro is gradually stabilizing, it was stressed at today's session of the LC Central Committee of this republic, at which there was consideration of current socioeconomic circumstances in this part of our country.

Submitting his introductory report on the activities in the Montenegrin LC in the overcoming of accumulated social problems, Milutin Lalic, a member of the Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the processes of consolidation are visible in party and state organs as well as in some work collectives. This is creating the initial conditions for the halting of negative trends, above all in the area of production and living standards, and only thereafter for gradual improvements in them. However, Lalic stressed, one should not nurture the illusion that the goals can be realized painlessly and rapidly.

Data on business transactions in the economy for 9 months of last year show that a number of work collectives—very important ones in terms of the development of the republic—(?will be) operating at a loss. The objective, but also marked subjective reasons for this situation, are being removed very slowly. [passage omitted]

Politicization is unavoidable in societies like ours, but it should not have a negative impact on the daily performance of work obligations. If we transform work collectives into places for constantly holding meetings, and holding party and trade union, youth, and other meetings, and to the detriment of production, then the desired politicization becomes negative and can have harmful and even deleterious consequences. [passage omitted]

It should not be permitted, Lalic added, that individuals, because of dissatisfaction with their work, replace the whole or most of the expert cadres in work organizations. In this way, besides those who are justifiably replaced, collectives could be left without any true specialists or creative people, in whose training society has invested a great deal.

Members of management organs, managers, engineers, innovators, and all those who participate indirectly or directly in the production process cannot be treated as political personalities, and therefore measures of classical political responsibility cannot be applied to them, either. Managers cannot resign but can hand in their notice, so their resignations should not be sought.

In conditions where the economic situation is bad, the political situation cannot be good, either. In Montenegro they have stabilized, relatively speaking, Lalic stressed at the end of his introductory report, but in some environments, as for example in Plav, they continue to be exceptionally difficult.

Blagoje Lucic, the first participant in the discussion, also drew attention to this and stressed that the situation in Plav is deteriorating every day because in this municipality complete polarization on a national basis has come about. In Plav, on the one hand, he said, we have Montenegrins, and on the other, Muslims and Albanians. Citizens of Montenegrin nationality are requesting the complete replacement and responsibility of the municipal leadership, whereas the Muslims and Albanians believe that the present leadership should remain in place.

Lucic also analyzed the work of young people in Plav, stressing that the youth organization is completely disunited and that in essence it does not function. About 3,500 young people, of whom many are indoctrinated and do things which have no connection with our socialist system, have, for example, moved from the local community of Gusinje, by the so-called "Mexican connection," to America.

Plav must become the concern of all of Montenegro. Political action must be taken there, but also practical and correct moves must be made that will lead to the economic development of this environment, Todor Bakovic said. In addition to national division in Plav there prevails an incomprehensible poverty. Every dissatisfaction, and primarily national dissatisfaction, surges and escalates from it. My impression, Bakovic says, is that the situation in Plav alone was sufficient reason for the recent fall of the entire Montenegrin leadership.

In the situation which has arisen in Plav, Milan Gajovic believes, individual and collective responsibility should be established, and to this end proposed that a detailed memorandum be compiled on the behavior of Communists in this municipality, especially those who through their idleness contributed to the deterioration of the situation in Plav. He also believes that then the appropriate statutory measures be taken against them.

Gajovic also advocated that the Central Committee adopt a clear stance on the articles in some papers on the situation in Montenegro. We are witnesses, he said, of the fact that this republic has become the subject of tendentious, malicious, and to a large extent untruthful articles in some media, and he referred in passing here to the magazines DANAS and DUGA. [passage omitted]

In a lengthy debate, the question was raised as to whether Bucin should be put forward for membership in the LCY Central Committee if he is already a member of the Presidium of the SAWP Federal Conference, since the position has been adopted that different offices should not be held by the same person.

After the explanation by Veselin Vukotic, presiding, and some other members, to the effect that the candidature of Bucin has been assessed as one of the solutions for the most responsible posts in the LCY from the Montenegrin LC (after the resignations of Marko Orlandic, Vidoje Zarkovic, and Slobodan Filipovic, Montenegro has no representatives in the LCY Central Committee Presidium), it was decided by a majority vote that Nenad Bucin remain on the list of 12 candidates for membership in the LCY Central Committee. In a secret ballot, however, Bucin was one of three people who failed to obtain the required number of votes.

The Montenegrin LC Central Committee session approved the draft documents for the preparations for the 10th extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin LC, which will be held 24-25 April of this year in Titograd.

Explaining these documents, Momir Bulatovic, chairman of the Committee for the Preparation of the Extraodinary Congress, stressed that the committee has tried to create real preconditions for the democratization of elections and cadre policy in the LC, respecting all the statutory limitations and provisions. In relation to the documents that preceded the Ninth Montenegrin LC Congress and the 13th LCY Congress, and which resembled more a pocket edition of some novel than an operative party document, Bulatovic stressed that the committee is proposing very short, clear, and unambiguous formulations of text. We assessed that it is not essential to explain in great detail things that each LCY member, and even every citizen has long since known, he said.

The draft decision on the election of members of Montenegrin LC organs envisions that the LC Central Committee of this republic numbers 65 members, which is 10 more than the number hitherto. Bulatovic explained this proposal, saying that of the 55 members of the LC hitherto, 14 of them were until recently engaged in a professional capacity in the executive political organ. The hitherto LC practice of working as a rule in its extended composition, objectively led to the professional people in the LC having an exceptional influence and to this influence being realized without much difficulty.

It is now being proposed that the LC have a maximum of five professional people, including the statutory commission, Bulatovic said.

Strikers Driven From Zenica Steel Works

LD1302223489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2040 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Zenica, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—As late as 1900 GMT the last group of strikers—employees of the steel works and some other components—were driven out of the premises. Several hundred workers who were putting forward unrealistic demands 4 days ago at the platform in front of the Steel Works Number One continued the strike. In an inappropriate manner, they expressed discontent over the conclusion of the Workers' Council extraordinary session.

After hearing the conclusions of the Workers' Council, particularly the ones which freeze the renumeration points for work done in January at an earlier stage, they took the platform of Steel Works Number One by force and yesterday blocked the access to two Siemens-Martin furnaces. This resulted in a loss of 500 tonnes of steel. There was disorder and pushing, which posed the imminent danger of halting the production cycle and even of a major accident where human lives would be in danger. With help of the security organs in the steel works, Mihajlo Nikolic, the assistant director of the steel works, said the strikers were driven out of the steel works and later pushed outside the premises. This afternoon at least 200 tonnes of steel were lost because the furnaces were not filled and emptied on time; they were idle for most of the time.

Production Resumes

AU1402155289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The production process in all sections of the Zenica steel works is continuing without a hitch. The management council and specialist services of the steelworks are analyzing the causes of the situation that has arisen and are attempting to meet the demands of the striking workers that were stressed in the last few days at extraordinary meetings.

Albanian Writer's Views on SFRY Analyzed

AU0802213889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] The French monthly, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, which enjoys great respect in the world, in its February issue carries a one-page article by Albanian writer Ismail Kadare on the Albanian views on detente among the Balkan countries. Dragan Petrovic comments on this one-sided view on Balkan detente:

The article was obviously written and published with the intent to acquaint the French and the world public with the main problems that stand in the way of detente in the Balkans. According to Ismail Kadare, the main problems on this road are Kosovo and Serbian chauvinism.

Kadare also asserts that it is not the Albanians who persecute the Serbs, but on the contrary, the Serbs who persecute the Albanians. There is no exodus of Serbs from Kosovo, but of Albanians, and if the Serbs go, they go for economic reasons. The chief destabilizing force that undermines Yugoslavia is Serbian chauvinism, the Albanian writer further asserts, but in his entire article he does not say a single word about either Albanian separatism or nationalism.

Kadare also offers a recipe for detente in the Balkans and says that it is possible only if, we quote, the winds of Serbian chauvinism die down.

It serves no purpose and it is becoming tiresome to polemize with such theses of Ismail Kadare. We would rather search in the article for some elements on which we could agree with Kadare. We are using agree only in the conditional sense.

Developing the theory about the Illyrians and who in this region is older in a historical sense of the word, Kadare says in the conclusion of his article that all this manipulation of history does not lead anywhere. We agree.

Kadare further says that it is in vain to hope that a lie repeated 1,000 times will eventually become truth. We agree again, but it seems that Kadare and his ilk have achieved this 1,000 times.

In conclusion, Ismail Kadare says that the Balkan people, speaking about rapprochement, often mention bridges of friendship. The people of this peninsula share a legend, a legend about a sacrifice made at the beginning of the building of a bridge so that it may be firm, Kadare says. He adds that in this case, the sacrifice that should forever be buried in the foundations of the bridge of rapprochement is chauvinism.

Kadare speaks nicely of sharing a legend, bridges of rapprochement. But then he suddenly decides to bury only one chauvinism. For the sake of objectivity, reason, and bridges of friendship, is it possible that neither Albania nor the Albanian chauvinists, separatists, and nationalists in Kosovo have anything to put in this common coffin?

We built the bridge of rapprochement a long time ago with all the rights that the Albanians enjoy in Yugoslavia. Kadare does not say a word about it. What about the Albanian side of the bridge, the fate of the parts of the Yugoslav peoples in Albania? Kadare does not mention it.

Finally, speaking about objectivity, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE [words indistinct], but we are surprised, to say the least, that a journal of such traditions and level has not found any need to inform or the space for informing the French and the world public about the Yugoslav view of the other side of the coin, if for no other reason than at least because of the tremendous praise on its pages that it gives the Yugoslav initiative for the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers and the promotion of cooperation in the region.